

ATIU THROUGH EUROPEAN EYES:

*A Selection of
Historical Documents
1777-1967*

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EDUCATION OF A
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25. JAN. 1984

Taku Enea

Enuamano

Enea nooranga ia e te Manu

Enea inangaro ia e au

Mei muatangana mai

I kapua ia mai ei taku ui tupuna

Ngavaine T. Iona

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about Atiu during the last 200 years, but few Atiuans have been able to read it. The reason for this is simple. Most of it was written by Europeans and is available only in European libraries, museums and universities. Some was published as books, but these are often expensive or difficult to obtain, especially in the Pacific. Several have become rare collectors' items.

The following selection of historical documents aims to deal with this problem. It comprises twenty descriptions of Atiu written between 1777 and 1967, arranged in rough chronological order. As far as I am aware, no significant source has been omitted, though it was decided not to include one or two references which were considered trivial or repetitive. In order to preserve the original flavour of these writings, they have been reproduced in facsimile form.

In recent years, Pacific islanders have experienced a renewal of interest and pride in their cultural heritage. With the advent of self-government, people in many Pacific states have begun to question the European beliefs and doctrines which were imposed on them for so many years. This growth of self-confidence has been reflected in many spheres, including politics, literature and education. The latter is especially relevant here. Before very long, Pacific islanders will have re-interpreted and re-written their own histories from a Pacific, rather than a European, point of view. Such writers will also want to consider first-hand observations like those included in this volume. By comparing these mainly European accounts with local oral traditions (genealogies, chants, songs, folk-stories, and so on), it will be possible to produce more balanced and meaningful versions of Pacific history.

Every historical document is biased in some way. The essence of good history lies in identifying the distortions that result from such biases, thereby reducing any harmful effects. The sources which follow have been arranged in three sections, corresponding to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first consists of material

written by explorers, the second by missionaries and traders, and the third by administrators and academics. Although it is difficult--without a detailed biographical study--to discover the personal biases of each author, it is possible to isolate many of the biases associated with status or occupation. The explorers in this volume, for example, included men with scientific training. Since their principal goal was to collect data--whether geographical, botanical, zoological or ethnographic--their observations tend to be detailed and meticulous. However, their visits were often short, and they were hampered by not being able to speak the local languages. Some missionaries, on the other hand, were skilled linguists; but their contempt for "paganism" led them to omit many ethnographic details in their writings, especially those relating to non-Christian religious beliefs and practices. Unlike explorers and missionaries, traders were seldom interested in recording what was going on around them, and few lengthy descriptions by them are available. The administrators were usually employed by colonial governments, whose interests they represented. For this reason, their remarks are occasionally tinged with paternalism, though by no means always. Finally, academics aim to produce objective or "value-free" reports. Nevertheless, like all other human beings they have their prejudices, and these are often reflected in the "theoretical approach" they choose to adopt.

All these things should be taken into account in reading this book. Hopefully, seeing Atiu through European eyes will enable Atiuans of today to gain a deeper understanding of their own history. It may also give them some insight into the colonial, evangelical and entrepreneurial characters who have been arriving on their shores for the past 200 years. One of these--a trader by the name of Jock Campbell ("Kampera")--is my own link to the island. Married to a woman from Tongareva, he spent the last years of his life on Atiu, bringing up a young family which included my father.

A sequel on "Atiu through Atiuan eyes" is now urgently

needed. It is being prepared by an enthusiastic group
of writers. I hope this collection will be useful to them.

Andrew Robert Teariki Campbell

1 April 1982

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: EXPLORERS

The island of Atiu was discovered by Europeans in 1777, when Captain James Cook arrived there during his third voyage. Cook himself remained on board, but sent armed boats from the Resolution and Discovery ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Gore. They were accompanied by a Tahitian called Mai (or "Omai"), who acted as interpreter. Although only one day was spent on the island (April 3), several detailed accounts of this visit have survived. The first was written by Cook, the second by William Anderson (surgeon), and the third by David Samwell (surgeon's first mate).

Being unfamiliar with the local language, these men recorded Atiuan words in a way that now seems strange. Atiu, for example, is spelt at various times as "Wautieu", "Watee'oo" and "Watdu".

A different version of Cook's visit was collected by W.W.Gill, about a century later. This is an Atiuan perspective, and provides an interesting contrast to that of the Europeans (see Source 6).



Portrait of Captain Cook

By John Webber

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND *DISCOVERY*

1776-1780

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

PART ONE

CAMBRIDGE

Published for the Hakluyt Society

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1967

large holes in the ears something like the people of Easter island;¹ but the only ornaments we saw was a necklace or collar made of human hair. Their hair is black and the most of them had it tied in a bunch on the crown of the head, some wore a turban, and pieces of coloured cloth like a sash, which passing round the neck behind was crossed upon the breast and then collected round the waist like a belt; but by far the greatest part wore nothing but the Marra² as it is called and worn at Otaheite. There were some about the skirts of the woods who never came into the Water that were better clothed, these we took to be women or principal chiefs. Observing that our friend had been wounded in the forehead we enquired how he came by it, and he told us he got it in fighting with the people of an island to the NE ward, who some times came to invade them.³

At Noon the next day we again saw land, in the direction of NEBN distant 8 or 10 leagues; it prov'd to be an island nearly of the same extent as the former, I was however not without hopes but we might find anchorage and be able to get some food for our cattle of which we began to be in great want. With this view we continued to work up to it, but as we had but little wind and that unfavourable, it was 8 o'clock in the Morn^g of the 2nd of April before we were near enough to send the boats to explore it, and even then we were two leagues from it. Soon after I sent two armed boats from the Resolution and one from the Discovery under the command of Lieutenant Gore to look for an anchoring and landing place, and in the mean time we plyed up under the island with the Ships. Just as the Boats were putting off, we observed several Canoes coming of from the shore; they went first to the Discovery she being the nearest Ship,⁴ soon after three came to the Resolution, each conducted

Mon. 31

APL
Wed. 2

¹ Webber drew a portrait of Mourua, which shows him with a knife stuck through the hole in his ear. *Voyage*, I, pl. XI.

² mara.

³ Probably another of the Cooks; Mauke? The Mangaians were themselves quite accomplished invaders. According to Gill, p. 175, Mourua in fact got this scar in an affray with some of the people of his own island, who tried to murder him and his relation Kirikovi. It does not show in Webber's portrait.

⁴ Lieutenant Gore with two of the Resolutions Boats soon after came on Board and with him Omai, who immediately enter'd into Conversation with the Indians, they perfectly understanding one another—a Bough of a Cocoa Nut Tree was brought, and Omai went through many Ceremonies with the Chief repeating short Sentences after him, at each of which they pulled a Leaf off the Bough.⁵—Edgar, 2 April. This man's name, says Burney, was 'Otenouhoora'; Tinokura was a leading chief of Atiu in Cook's time; the name was also the title of one of the seven *matatapu* or chiefs who anciently ruled the island. The visit had a sequel. 'In the Evening I found one of the Natives left on board my Ship; when it grew dark I observ'd the fellow was a little uneasy, especially as we stood from the Island for the Night; however I took him to my Cabin, gave him a good Supper, when he seem'd very happy and chearfull. I soon afterwards had him a bed made up, when he laid himself down very contentedly; but at daylight in the Morning when I got up I found this was not one of your nasty dronish Rogues that lose good time in a state of

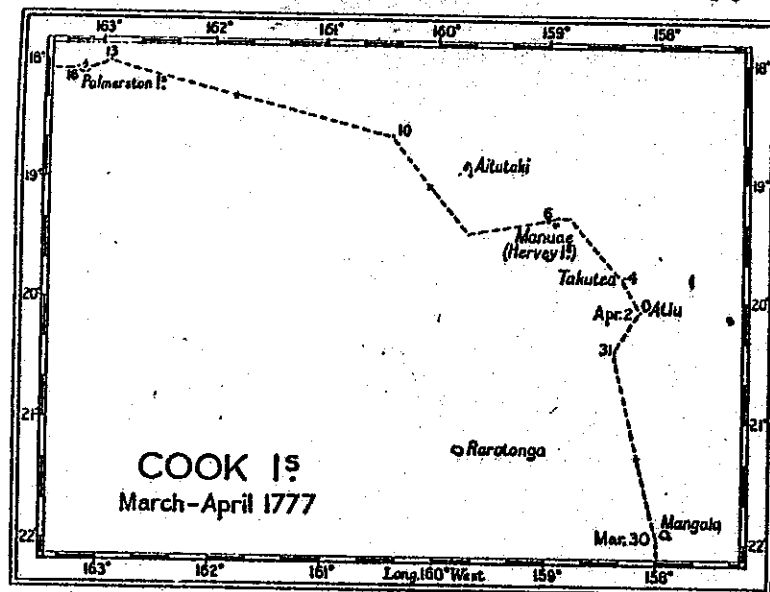


FIG. 4

by one man, with a little persuasion one of them made his Canoe fast to the Ship and came aboard and he was soon after followed by the others. They seemed quite easy and under no sort of apprehensions we should detain them or do them any harm. After these were gone a man Came off in a Canoe with a bunch of Plantains as a present to me who he asked for by name, having learnt it from Omai who was with Mr Gore; I gave him in return an ax and a piece of red cloth and he returned to the shore well satisfied: I afterwards understood from Omai that this present was sent from the King or chief of the Island whose name was

ridiculous insensibility and sleep, indeed he was a Genius altogether superior to such dull amusement, for he shew'd himself a Gentleman of most indefatigable industry; he had in the Course of the Night made a most curious Collection of the various things about my Cabin which he most approv'd of, and stow'd them about him in so masterly a manner, as left me no room to doubt but he was a man of Eminence in his way, however I beg'd the favour of him to refund his Booty, which he with some reluctance complied with; I then endeavour'd to engage his Gratitude by totally overlooking his collecting Plan and making him some presents, flattering myself that a good name even from a Thief might be of some Service among People who were such perfect Strangers, but in the course of our farther Connections with him he prov'd himself a most incorrigible, damn'd rogue indeed.—Clerke, 3 April.—'... some Canoes coming off he seiz'd on a pair of new Trowsers that our Taylor was then at work upon, and jump'd overboard with them, and got safe off with his prize.'—Edgar.

¹ Burney and others picked up the name 'Oterrow'—i.e. Atirau. There seem to have

Soon after a double Canoe in which were a good many people came off to us, as they drew near the Ship a man stood up and made a Speech this done they came along side and asked for the chief, and as soon as I shewed my self, they sent up a Pig and a few Cocoa nuts and the principal person in the Canoe followed them and presented me with a piece of mating. He and his companions were shewed the Cattle, the Cabbin and other parts of the Ship, some things struck them with some surprise but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. The Cows and Horses they were afraid to come near, nor did they form the least conception of them, but the Sheep and Goats they conceived to be some strange birds. It will appear rather incredible how any set of men could conceive a Sheep or Goat to be a bird, as there is not the least similarity between them; but these people could have no idea of there being any other land Animals but Hogs, Dogs and Birds; they must see they were not of the two first and therefore conceived they must be some species of the latter they had not seen before.¹ I complemented my new friend with what I thought most acceptable, but on his going away he seemed rather disappointed than satisfied and I afterwards understood that it was a Dog which he wanted, an Animal they had not on the island, though they knew very well what they were. Captain Clerke had received the like present with the same View from a nother Man who met with the like disappointment.

At 3 PM Mr Gore returned with the boats, and informed me that he had examined all the west side of the island without finding a place where a boat could land or the Ships could anchor, the shore being every where bounded by a steep corral rock against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf: but as the Natives seemed to be very friendly he was of opinion they might by means of Omai be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats without the surf such articles as we most wanted,² in particular the stems of Plantain trees which makes good food for cattle. Having little or no Wind the delay of a day or two was of no moment and therefore I determined to try the experiment and got every thing ready against the next Morning.

THURSDAY 3rd. Soon after day break we observed some canoes coming off to the Ships, one of which made for the Resolution; in it was a

been three equal 'kings' or 'high chiefs' on this island (Atiu), whose names were Atirau, Taroa and Atauria; these the landing party were to meet the following day. Gill says there were two, Tiaputa and Tangapatolo, of whom Tiaputa entertained Cook's men. But the last statement, anyhow, is wrong.

¹ Cook's reasoning is not unnatural, but the explanation was simply one of language, as at Mangaia.

² Adm 55/111 adds which they could manage very well.

Hog, a bunch of Plantains and a few Cocoanuts, for which the people who brought them demanded a Dog and refused every other thing that was offered. We had a Dog and a bitch on board belonging to one of the Gentlemen, that were a great nuisance in the Ship and might have been desposed of here to some essential purpose, but such a purpose the owner never intended them. However to gratify these people Omai parted with a favourite dog he had and they departed highly satisfied.¹ Two of them accompanied Mr Gore who I now sent with three boats, two from the Resolution and one from the Discovery, to try the experiment he had proposed;² and as I could confide in his diligence and ability, I left it intirely to him to act, as from circumstances he should think most proper. As the Ships were a full league from the island when the boats put off, and having but little wind it was noon before we could work up to it, when we saw our boats riding at their grapplings just without the Surf and a prodigious number of people a shore abreast of them; by this we concluded that Mr Gore and others of our people had landed and were very impatient to know the event. I kept as near the shore all the after noon as we could in order to observe their motions and to be ready to give them such assistance as they might want and our respective situation would admit; for as to those a shore the reef was as effectual a barrier between us and them, and put them as much out of the power of our protection as if there had been half the circumference of the Globe between; but this the Indians could not know so well as us.³ Some of the islanders now and then came off to the Ships in their Canoes with a few Cocoanuts which they exchanged for any thing that was offered them without seeming to Value one thing more than another. These occasional visits made me easy in respect to our own people, tho' we could get no information from our visiters, yet their coming a board shewed at least that ours were safe. At length a little before sun set we had the satisfaction to see the boats put off; when they got on board Mr Gore informed me that he, Omai, Docter Anderson, and Mr Burney of the Discovery, were landed in a Canoe (two at a time) by the Indians: Mr Gore and Omai landed first, and were followed

¹ "This morning great numbers of the natives came on board with some hogs & fruit to sell, but they would not part with the hogs except we gave them a Dog or a Goat in exchange, which we refused. Cap^t Cook bought one hog for a dog."—Bayly T, 2 April.—"... they wanted a Bitch & wou'd give any thing for one."—Harvey log.

² Two of them ... proposed: Adm 55/111 I now sent Mr Gore (accompanied by Omai with two boats and a proper assortment of Articles to trade for refreshments, and any kind of food for our Cattle, which was what we most wanted; some of the people belonging to the Canoes went in the boats.

³ According to native tradition (Gill, p. 186) Gore landed on the southern shore by way of an indentation in the reef called Orovaru, but the ships were never off the southern shore (see Chart XLVb) and Cook could see the boats all the afternoon. Native traditions about Cook's landing places, it may be added, are very often suspect.

by Mr Burney and the Docter; thus they became separated and remained so for some time after they were landed. They were received on the beach by a number of Armed men who conducted them first to one Chief, then to a nother and then to a third; each expected a present and Mr Gore gave them such things as he had carried ashore for the purpose.¹ After these visits of Ceremony were over, he wanted to set on foot a trade, but was given to understand that he must wait till the next day and then he should have what he wanted. They were now surround[ed] by a great Multitude who pent them up the whole day without suffering them to budge one single step either one way or a nother, excepting once just to shew them the boats remained where they left them. Altho they were thus kept close prisoners yet no sort of insult was offered them except that of Stealing in which these people shew'd as much dexterity as any other people whatever, so that there was not one of the gentlemen but what lost something or a nother, nor could they get any redress when they complained to the chiefs. They also took care they did not want for Victuals, for towards the evening they set before them a baked hog and a quantity of fruit, and what they did not eat was sent to the boats for the people there. Omai was very much alarmed when they began to make a fire to dress the Victuals, expecting that he and his companions were going to be roasted and eat; his apprehensions were so strong that he could not refrain from asking if the fire was not made with this view, at which question they were greatly surprised and asked him if that was a custom with us.² Omai however did not think himself safe till he saw the hog killed. They pressed the gentlemen very much to stay all night and promised them every thing which they thought could induce them, but at length when they found they could not prevail they suffered them to depart to their no small satisfaction and

¹ Gill, pp. 187-8, gives further information on this event in island life. When Gore landed the Atiuans asked him, 'Are you one of the glorious sons of Tetumu?' Now Tetumu was the father of gods and men, and the maker of all things. 'The white complexion of the visitors, their wonderful clothing and weapons, all indicated, in their opinion, a divine origin. To these inquiries no reply was given; in all probability they were unintelligible to Mai as well as to Lieutenant Gore.' (Te Tumu, however, was also in the Tahitian pantheon.) And again, 'A curious heathen prophecy was known to these islanders previous to the discovery of Atiu by Cook: A god named "Tane-mei-tai"—"Tane-out-of-the-ocean"—would some day visit their shores. This new divinity would speak a strange language, would introduce strange articles and customs, and would ill-treat the natives. This oracle was at once applied to their illustrious visitors, so that no little distrust and fear mingled with the pleasure of seeing "Tute". It is difficult to estimate the value of all this, apart from the island theology, as historical evidence: it may be half, or more than half, the fruit of talk after the event. The Atiuan account of the banquet presented to the visitors, 'Forty pigs', etc., is manifestly absurd. Whatever the divinity of the visitors, this did not exempt them from spoliation, as will be seen.

² These islanders were cannibals, says Gill, but implies that this was in the course of warfare.

conveyed them to the boats in the same manner as they brought them ashore. Thus this day was spent without getting any one thing from the island worth mentioning. The Natives were however gratified with a sight they never before had nor probably will never have again and this seems to have been their sole Motive for keeping the Gentlemen pent up as they did, for in other respects they were treated well enough, and once or twice entertained with wrestling and dancing; the first by men and the last by girls. Most of the people were dress'd in their best apparel, with ornaments of red feathers which they seemed to set much Value upon. Omai was asked a great many questions concerning us, our Ships, Country &c and according to his account the answers he gave were many of them not a little upon the marvellous as for instance he told them we had Ships as large as their island, that carried guns so large that several people might sit within them and that one of these guns was sufficient to destroy the whole island at one shot. This led them to ask what sort of guns we had, he said they were but small, yet with them we could with great ease destroy the island and every soul in it; they then desired to know by what means this was done, accordingly fire was put to a little powder, the sudden blast and report produced by so small a quantity astonished them and gave them terrible ideas of the effects of a large quantity, so that Omai was at once credited for every thing he told them. And it was thought if it had not been for the apprehensions they were under from the Ships guns, they would have detained the gentlemen all night, for Omai told them, if he and [h]is companions did not return on board the same day I should fire upon the island, and as we stood in nearer the shore in the evening than we had done any time before, they probably thought it was with that intent and therefore suffered them to depart, with the expectation of seeing them again the next day, but such an experiment I resolved to try no more and thought my self well of that it ended as it did.¹

Omai met with four of his country men upon this island, who about ten years ago were coming from Otaheite to Ulictea but missing the latter, were after being at sea a long time, cast ashore upon this. There were twenty in the whole men and women in the Canoes, but only five survived the hardships they under went, having had neither Victuals nor drink for many days; during some of the last days, the Canoe was overset and these five men saved themselves by hanging by the side of her, till Providence brought them in sight

¹ Cook's account of this day on shore needs to be supplemented from Anderson, pp. 834-43 below.

of the people of this island, who sent out Canoes to bring them a shore, where they were kindly treated, and were now so well satisfied with their situation that they refused the offer which Omai made of giving them a passage with us to their native isle.

This circumstance very well accounts for the manner the inhabited islands in this Sea have been at first peopled; especially those which lay remote from any Continent and from each other.¹

This island is called by its Inhabitants *Wautieu*² it lies in the latitude of 20° 01' S, Longit. 201° 45' E, it is about Six leagues in compass with a surface composed of hills and plains and covered with verdure of many hues. Its produce, with the Addition of hogs, is the same as the last island we visited, which the people of this call *Ouha-va-rouah*, a name so different to that which the inhabitants gave it, that it is highly probable *Owhavarouah* is a nother island.³ The Inhabitants of *Wautieu* were thought by the gentlemen who were a shore, to be as fine a race of people as any they had scen in this Sea, and in general stouter and fleshier but I hardly think the difference so great as they immagined;⁴ in those who came on board I saw nothing striking, they are all of the same race speake nearly one and the same language and were equally understood by Omai and the two New zealanders. Omai called the island *Wenua no Eatua*,⁵ that is a land of Gods; for he said there were a great many men in it who were possessed with the Spirit of the *Eatua*, a kind of frantickness, very common, as he says, at Otaheite and the neighbouring isles.

The Canoes of this island, at least such as came off to the Ships, are but small, long and narrow and support[ed] by out riggers, that is such as are single. The stern is elevated about 3 or 4 feet something like a ships stern post, the head is flat above, but prow-like below

¹ If for the phrase 'accounts for the manner' we substitute 'indicates one of the manners', we may accept this sentence as the enunciation of an important truth, adding a little to Cook's guess at origins, I, p. 288. Andrew Sharp's *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific* (Wellington, 1956) may be regarded as an extended commentary on the thesis.

² *Atiu*. The word, with its slightly aspirated *t*, on the lips of a pure Polynesian speaker is capable of seeming one of the most delightful of human sounds.

³ It was identical with *Mangaia*. Cook has simply picked up the older name of this island, which Gill gives as *A'ua'u*, Cook's initial *O* being the nominative prefix. But perhaps Gill's version needs a final *e*, *A'ua'ua*.

⁴ The People of *Wautieu* are in almost Every respect Like Those of Otaheite, differing in nothing that I Know of Except their Artificel Colouring, Those have Black Arses & These have Black Bellies Privities included and black Leggs reaching To just above their Calf, and some of them have half their Backs Black from the Hippo to the shoulder, Their Weomen have only Black Leggs, In one thing more these Differ from the Otaheiteans in, is the Holes in their Ears are Larger and instead of Pores they ware Rosas made Of red Feathers with the Rose forward resting on their Temples which in their Ladies looks Pretty Enuff, and there Are some Verry Pretty Lasses Here I'll Ashure You, And fine Stout well made Comely well fed Men Too . . . —Gore.

⁵ *Wenua no aiaua*.

and turns down at the extremity like the end of a fiddle. The Canoe we saw at *Mangia noo nai naiwa* was much smaller than these; it had a flat board or piece of wood projecting out at the fore part like the small Ivahahs at Otahiete, but it had a high upright stern like some in New Zealand: the upper end of this stern post was forked. The drawings which Mr Webber made of these Canoes will convey the best idea of them.

Frid. 4 Having had light airs and calms by turns all the night of the 3rd so that before day break in the Morning of the 4th the Easterly swell had carried us some distance from the island, and finding we were not likely to get much by staying by it, I stood for a small island we had discovered to the NW. The people of Wautieu call it *Wenuaete*,¹ which signifies little island; it lays NW 3 or 4 leagues from Wautieu and in the Latitude of 19° 15', Longitude 201° 37' E. Having a gentle breeze at East we got up with it by half past 9 AM, when I despatched Mr Gore away with two boats, to endeavour to land and get some food for our Cattle, for there seemed to be nobody upon it to prevent our taking whatever we thought proper. Mr Gore no sooner reached the lee or NW side of the island than he and his party landed, notwithstanding the great surf which broke against the rocks. As soon as I saw this, I sent a small boat to know what further Assistance was wanting. She did not return till 3 PM having waited to take in a lading of Scurvey Grass and the branches and leaves of some Palms. As soon as she was cleared, she together with the Jolly boat was sent again with orders to the officer to be on board with all the boats before dark which was complied with. From this island which is about four miles in circuit, very low and surrounded by a reef, we got about 90 or 100 Cocoanuts some scurvy grass (there being hardly any other on it) and a quantity of the branches of the Wharra tree² as it is called at Otahiete. This being of a soft spongy juicy nature, the Cattle eat it very well when cut up in small pieces, so that it might be said without any impropriety that we fed our Cattle on billit-wood. This island is some time frequented (probably by fishers) as Mr Gore found a few empty huts in one of which he left a hatchet and some nails to the full Value of what we took from the island.³

As soon as the boats were hoisted in I made sail again to the Northward with a light air of wind Easterly; intending to try our

¹ *Wenua ihi*, 'little island'; 'Modu'—i.e. *motu*, island, on Edgar's Chart XLVb. Its more formal name is Takutea.

² *Fara*, pandanus.

³ The island does not seem ever to have been regularly inhabited. The Atluans nowadays sometimes go over to collect coconuts.—'In the Morning serv'd Vinegar to the People & put them to $\frac{1}{2}$ Allowance of Beef, Pork & Flower by Order of Cap^t Cook.'—Clerke.

True Account of a

Voyage to South Seas

in 1776-1777-1778

Written by David Samwell

Surgeon of the Discovery



Pl. 69. David Samwell
Silhouette portrait, B.M., Egerton MS 2591

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

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THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY

1776-1780

EDITED BY

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NEW ISLANDS

[831

Therm. 79½:81:80:00:80:79½. The wind ENE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. A moderate sea. Stood N in the morning and made the Discoverys signal to go ahead. At noon she made the signal for seeing land which we answer'd and saw it soon after from the mast head bearing about NNE. We stood on till four in the afternoon, when it was plainly seen from the deck to be an island¹ nearly of the same height and extent as that we left yesterday. It then bore NE and we tack'd standing to the SE, making the Discoverys signal to do the same as she was a considerable way a-head.

[APRIL 1777]

TUESDAY APRIL 1st. *Lat.* 19.54-19.50.40 S. *Long.* 201.31-202.03-202.43 E. *Therm.* 80:81½:82:83:80:80½. The wind ENE and EBN. Moderate breezes but after noon rather gentle. The weather fine. The air warm and dry. A moderate sea. Between twelve and one in the morning we tack'd and stood to the N^oward and at day light saw the Land. At eight were abreast of its N end but about four leagues to leeward. It appear'd now to be longer than Mangia and like it was highest in the middle declining towards each end. We could perceive with our glasses that it was also covered with trees as that. At the same time a small island was seen right a head² & we still stood on, being at noon about a league past it but as much to leeward, when we tack'd & stood to the S^oward. It is not above two or three miles long, of a moderate height and covered with trees some of which are Cocoa palms. It is surrounded with a fine white Beach on which the sea breaks with violence but we saw no appearances of Inhabitants. In the evening were again abreast of the north part of the large Island and about a league nearer than when we pass'd it in the morning. Two or three large fires were now seen in different parts from whence we had no doubt but it was inhabited and in all probability they were made on our account.

WEDNESDAY 2^d. *Lat.* 20.02-20.00.47 S. *Long.* 201.42-00:00-202.54 E. *Therm.* 80½:80½:81.² *Bar.* 30.08, 29.98. The wind from ENE to NNE. Gentle breezes and at night almost calm. The weather fine. The air very hot & dry. The Thermometer stood at 85½ about noon and before that at 89½ which is much higher than I ever saw it before at sea. In the sun it was above 120. Between twelve & one in the morning tack'd and stood to the N^oward and at six made a Signal for the Discovery to stand in and examine the Land as she work'd better to windward than we. At eight we tack'd and soon after sent two

¹ Atiu.² Takutea.³ 81 is here the last observation of the day; the preceding figures the first two.

boats to try if their was any anchoring or landing place. In a little time we made the Discoverys signal to tack and meet the Boats as she was to send one along with them, in the mean time standing on our selves. At this time we saw eight or nine Canoes coming from the shore, some of which paddled towards the Discovery having one man in some but several that were double had ten or more. At eleven three small canoes with one man each came towards us, to whom we gave some knives, beads & other trifles and they gave us a few cocoa nuts which they had when we ask'd them, but they did not do it by way of exchange for what they had receiv'd, for they seem'd to have no idea of Bartering nor did they appear to estimate any thing we gave them at a high rate. We invited them on board but they refus'd to come, alledging we would kill them, yet at last one of them was prevaild upon to come in. Not long after a double Canoe with twelve men came to us who ventur'd on board without hesitation, as they had been previously on board the Adventure,¹ but before they came close to the ship repeated some words in concert by way of chorus, one of them first giving the word before each repetition. (The same ceremony was perform'd by the inhabitants of the Marquesas isles when the Resolution was there in 1774.) These people in general were of a middling size and not unlike those of Mang'ya nooe Nai naiwa though many were of a blacker cast than any we saw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head or flowing loose about the shoulders, and though in some it was of a frizzling disposition yet for the most part that as well as the straight sort was long. Their features were various and some of the young men rather handsome & several lusty. They wore girdles of glaz'd cloth which also covered the privities as those of Mang'ya, without any other covering, though some had instead of these fine matts for the same purpose & wore ornaments of a sort of broad grass stained with red and strung with berrys of the Nightshade about their necks.² Their ears were bor'd but not slit and they were punctuated on the legs from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as if they wore boots. They had also a sort of sandals on their feet and wore their beards long as the inhabitants of Mang'ya. Their behaviour was frank and chearfull with a great deal of good nature, & though they were pleas'd with every thing they saw did not express any eager desire to get them, nor did they seem at all much surpriz'd except at the Cattle and sheep of which they were at first afraid.

¹ A curious slip for Discovery.

² Probably *Solanum uponu*, Porotil in the Cook Islands, where the bright red berries are still frequently used for necklaces, and even cultivated for the purpose.

At noon we were not above two miles from the shore at the NW part of the island near its middle, when we tack'd & continued to make short boards, during which we were visited by several more canoes with Indians who all behav'd in the most amicable manner, and had not from the first any appearance of weapons of any sort amongst them. One of these boats had been sent by the Chief of the island with a pig and some cloth as a present to Capt^a Cook, and though they did not offer to ask any thing in return seem'd anxious to have some of the animals they saw on board, as a goat or sheep, but our stock which was destin'd for another place could not be spar'd & indeed it was now a good deal reduc'd. About three o'clock our boats return'd who had rang'd the shore between the two extreme points of the Island which were in sight, but found there was no such thing as anchoring with the ships, or even landing from the boats, as a large surf beats continually upon a reef which is equal with the water and defends the whole shore, though it runs out but a little way from it. The Indians on shore had assembled in different parts on little sandy beaches in considerable numbers, some of whom were arm'd but to appearance only accidentally & not with any design to oppose them, as they did not shew the least signs of a hostile disposition but on the contrary seem'd to express a degree of disappointment when they saw our people could not land: for it was impossible for us to follow their example, who float their Canoes over the outer part of the reef in the surf & afterwards drag them up under cover of the trees. In the evening we stood to the N^westward from the shore as there was little wind.

THURSDAY 3^d. Lat. 20.01-20.00.39. Long. 202.34-00.00-202.50. Therm. 79 $\frac{1}{2}$:80 $\frac{1}{2}$:82:80:80:79 $\frac{1}{2}$. Bar. 30.85, 29.45. The morning calm but afterwards we had light airs from N and NNE with fine weather and at night some lightning to the eastward. The air hot and dry. In the morning we found ourselves about four leagues from the island though there was little wind in the night, but a swell from the eastward was probably the occasion of it. A Canoe came from the shore to this distance and brought a young hog with some plantanes & Cocoa nuts, which however they would not part with until they had a dog given them as that was the only thing they seem'd to desire. We stood in shore, as it was determin'd if possible to obtain a more free intercourse with these people, & induce them to Barter for some refreshment, but the chief intention was to procure some grass for our live stock which seem'd to droop from being continually fed on dry food. It was propos'd, as our boats could not land, that they should

anchor just without the reef and that we should land in the Canoes of the natives after their manner, & by the same means bring off what we could get for the Cattle. Accordingly about ten o'clock the Cutter & Pinnace were sent with M^r Gore the first Lieutenant, & O'mace went in the boat with him as he understood the Language of the islanders pretty well. There was also an Indian who had been on board in each boat & we were join'd by a Boat from the Discovery who was farther in shore. We row'd towards a small sandy beach upon which and the adjacent rocks a great number of the natives had assembled, and came to an anchor within a hundred yards of the reef which extends about as far or a little more from the shore. Several of the Indians swam off some of whom brought Cocoa nuts, and Omace with the Indians we had in the Boats made them sensible of our wish to Land, but their attention was taken up for a little time by the Dog which had been carried from the ship & was just landed, round whom they flock'd with great eagerness. Soon after two Canoes came off and to create a greater confidence in the Indians we determin'd to go unarm'd and run the hazard of being treated well or ill. M^r Burney the first Lieutenant of the Discovery & I went in one Canoe a little time before the other, & the Indians watching attentively the motions of the Surf landed us safely on the reef. An Indian took hold of each of us seemingly with an intention to support us in walking over the rugged reef to the Beach, where several of the others met us holding the green boughs of a species of Mimosa¹ in their hand and saluted us by applying their noses to ours. We were conducted from the beach by our guides amidst a great croud of people who flock'd with a most eager curiosity to look at us, and would have prevented our proceeding had not some men who seem'd to have authority dealt some blows with little distinction amongst them to keep them off. We were then led up an Avenue of Cocoa palms, and soon came to a number of men arrang'd in two rows arm'd with clubs which they held on their shoulders much in the manner we rest a musket. After walking a little way amongst these we found a person who seem'd a chief sitting on the ground cross legg'd, cooling himself with a sort of triangular fan made from a leaf of the cocoa palm with a polished handle of black wood fix'd to one point. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers which pointed forward but he had no other mark or ornament to distinguish him from the rest of the people, though they all obey'd him with the greatest alacrity. He either naturally had or at this time put on a serious but not severe

¹ The Tongan vocabulary, *Voyage*, III, has 'Feefy, A species of mimosa'. Feifai is *Leucaena insularum*.

countenance, and we were desir'd to salute him as he sat by some people who seem'd of consequence. We proceeded still amongst the people arm'd with clubs and came to a second chief sitting fanning himself and ornamented as the first, who was remarkable for his size & uncommon corpulence, though to appearance a man not above thirty. In the same manner we were conducted to a third chief who seem'd older than the others & though not so fat as the last was of a large size.¹ He was sitting & adorn'd with red feathers, and after saluting him as we had done the others he desir'd us both to sit down, which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued with walking up & the excessive heat we felt amongst the vast croud that surrounded us. In a few minutes the people were order'd to separte, and we saw at the distance of thirty yards about twenty young women ornamented (as the chiefs) with red feathers engag'd in a dance which they perform'd to a slow and serious air sung by them all. We got up & went forward to see them & though we must have been very strange objects to them they continued their dance without paying any attention to us. They seem'd to be directed by a man who serv'd as a prompter & mention'd each motion they were to make, but they never mov'd from the spot as we do in dancing; & though they made some motion with their feet this exercise consisted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the same time holding the hands in a prone position near the face which they also clapp'd together now & then. Their motions and song were made in such exact concert that it would seem they had been taught with great care to perform each, and it would also appear that they are purposely chosen for this ceremony as few of those we saw in the croud equall'd them in beauty. In general they were rather stout than slender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck and of an olive complexion. Their features were rather fuller than what we allow to perfect beautys and much alike, but their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance express'd a degree of complacency and modesty peculiar to the sex in every part of the world but perhaps more conspicuous here, where nature presents us with her productions in the fullest perfection unbiass'd by education in opinion or unrestrain'd in manner by art. Their waste and limbs were elegantly form'd, for as they had only a piece of blaz'd cloth fasten'd about the upper part of the belly, which scarcely fell down as low as the knees in many, we had an opportunity of observing every part. This dance was not finish'd before we heard a noise as if some horses had been

¹ The three chiefs were Atirau, Taroa, and Atauria, but in what order Anderson met them is uncertain.

galloping towards us and on looking aside we saw it was those people who were arm'd with clubs and had been desir'd as we suppos'd to entertain us with the sight of their manner of fighting, which they now did, one party pursuing another who fled from them.

As we suppos'd the ceremony of being introduc'd to the chiefs was at an end we began to look about for M^r Gore & Omace, who had not yet made their appearance, and though the crowd would hardly suffer us to move we at length found them coming up as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been. Omace was deeply engag'd in conversation with some of his country men, who had been driven to this island by a strong wind though near two hundred leagues distant, a circumstance which may easily explain the method by which many of these places are peopled. They suffer'd much in that time, several of them dying and of the whole number four only arriv'd at this place one of whom is since dead. The natives of Watee'oo¹ have treated them kindly, not only on account of their similar manners &c but from their having been usefull in communicating some sorts of knowledge, which even at Otaheite is more extensive than here as it is larger & more populous. It cannot be exactly ascertain'd how long it is since the accident happend but it must be at least twelve years, as these people knew nothing of their country having been discovered by Cap^{tn} Wallis, nor of several other things as the Conquest of Eury'tea &c which happend previous to that.

After this he inform'd the Chiefs with what intention we had come on shore & told them we had reaping hooks in the boats to cut grass, but this they objected to or at least did not seem to approve of it, though they understood well it was to feed the cattle. They then seem'd to take some pains to seperate us from each other & every one had his croud to surround and gaze at him. For my own part I was at one time above an hour from the others & when I told the Chief by whom I sat that I wanted to speak to Omace he peremptorily refus'd & desir'd I would sit still. At the same time I found the people began to steal several trifling things which I had in my pocket & when I took the Liberty of telling the chief it was wrong he insisted on the contrary, from whence I began to apprehend they might have some intention of keeping us amongst them as they seem'd to make us do every thing by compulsion, & if they did us any favour it was reckon'd a matter of curtesy & not necessity. They however did not seem of that disposition as to make us anxious for the safety of our

¹ Atiu. There must have been some more rewriting here; for this is a very sudden first mention of the name of the island.

persons but it was nevertheless vexing to think we had hazarded being detain'd by their curiosity. At this time I ask'd something to eat & they readily brought some cocoa nuts, bread fruit & a sort of sour pudding which was presented by a woman, & complaining much of the heat occasion'd by the croud the chief himself condescended to fan me and gave me a small piece of cloth which he had round his waste. As M^r Burney chanc'd to come this way I mention'd my suspicions to him, and to put it to the test we attempted to get to the Beach, but were stop'd when about half way by some men who told us we must go back to the place we had left. On coming up we found Omali entertaining the same apprehensions but much more afraid as they were heating an oven,* for which he could assign no other reason than that they meant to roast and eat us as is practic'd by the inhabitants of New Zealand; and he even went so far as to ask them the Question, at which we were rather angry as none of us had yet any reason to suppose they were so brutal or had the most distant thought of such a thing. In this manner we were detain'd the greatest part of the day, being sometimes together and at other times seperated, but always in a croud who gaz'd at us and sometimes desir'd us to uncover parts of our skin which commonly produc'd a universal murmur of admiration. At the same time they did not miss these opportunities to rifle our pockets of every thing and at last one of them snatch'd a small Bayonet from M^r Gore which hung in its sheath by his side. This was represented to the chief, who pretended to send some people in search of it but in all probability he countenanc'd the theft, as soon after Omace had a dagger stole from his side in the same manner though he did not observe it immediately. Whether they observ'd any signs of uneasiness in us or that they voluntarily repeated their signs of friendship when we wanted to go I cannot tell, but at this time they brought some green boughs and desir'd we would hold them (sticking their ends in the ground) as we sat. On urging again the business we came on they desir'd we would stay and eat with them, and a pig which we saw soon after lying near the oven remov'd Omaces suspicion of being put there & made us think it might be intended for our repast. The chief also promis'd to send some people to procure food for the cattle, but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon that we saw them return with a few plantane trees which they carried to our Boats. In the mean time M^r Burney and I attempted again to go to the beach, but when we got

* This oven was made by digging a hole in the earth in which they put wood & setting fire to it heated some stones which were thrown in. They then took out the fire, wrapp'd the food up in leaves, laid it amongst the stones & coverd the whole up with earth.

there were turn'd back by people who to appearance had been plac'd there purposely, for when I try'd to wade in upon the reef one of them took hold of my cloaths & dragg'd me back. I pick'd up some small pieces of coral which they oblig'd me to throw down again and when I refus'd they made no scruple to take them forcibly from me. They did the same with some small plants I had gather'd and took a fan from Mr Burney which they had presented him with on coming ashore. Omai said we were wrong in taking up any thing, for it was not the custom here to admitt freedoms of that kind till they had in some measure naturaliz'd strangers to the country by entertaining them with festivity for two or three days. This crude behaviour convinc'd us that they knew we were in a situation which would not suffer us to resent such affronts & we were therefore determin'd to comply with their requests as the only method to procure a better treatment. Accordingly we return'd and spent the rest of the day as before. In the evening as our ships had come pretty near the shore the chiefs went down to the Beach and we were permitted to go with them, which might be said to be the first appearance of liberty we had for the day. Omace ask'd one of them for a Canoe to put us off to our Boats but he said there was none and ask'd us to stay all night on shore, but seeing we persisted in our intention of going off another person promis'd we should have one after we had eaten of a repast which the Chief had prepar'd for us. We went up again to the place we had left and the second chief to whom we had been introduc'd in the morning sat down upon a low broad stool of blackish hard wood tolerably polish'd, and desiring the people to make a pretty large ring made us sit down by him. O'mace in the mean time took a club and entertain'd them with showing the method of using that weapon at Otaheite, with which they were extremely pleas'd, and gave proofs of their knowing perfectly well almost every motion he made and what he said by repeating their applauses at the end of each. An enquiry follow'd this about the sort of arms we us'd which Omace explain'd as well as he could, and having some Cartridges he show'd them the Balls & gun powder. They wish'd to see the effects of the last and we accordingly put a small quantity on the ground & fir'd it with a bit of coal, from which they seem'd to acquiesce in the account that he had given of the guns & that they might do all the mischief he had mentioned. At the end of this they brought a considerable number of cocoa nuts and shortly after a long green basket with a sufficient number of bak'd plantanes to have serv'd a dozen people, and a piece of the young hog which had been dress'd was set before each of us which they desir'd we would eat. Our appetites however had fail'd

from the fatigue of the day and though we ate a little to please them it was without satisfaction to ourselves. As it was now near dark we told them it was time to go, which they allow'd, and sent down the victuals which had been dress'd to carry to the ship with us; but before we set out Omace was treated with a drink us'd in his own country, which they make by chewing the root of a sort of pepper, and putting it in a vessel, squeeze it out and drink the thin part. We found a Canoe ready to put us off to our boats which the Indians did with the same caution as on landing: but even here their thievish disposition did not leave them, for a person of some consequence who came with us took an opportunity just as they were pushing the Canoe into the Surf to snatch a Bag out of her, which I had with the greatest difficulty preserv'd all the day as there was a small pocket pistol in it which I was unwilling to part with. But perceiving him I call'd out and express'd as much displeasure as I could, on which he thought proper to return and swim into the Canoe with it but deny'd he had stole it which however was too evident to suffer us to believe them. They put us on board with the Cocoa nuts, Plantanes and other things which they had brought, and we row'd to the ships very well pleas'd at getting out of the hands of our troublesome masters.

It is probable that the only motive these people had to detain us so long was either to have an opportunity of satisfying their curiosity by looking at us or to steal the few things they saw we have and perhaps both. Whatever might be the reason however it is plain we ought always to be cautious in trusting such people where no communication with the shore can be kept up as was the case here. For it appears plain from their behaviour to us in the morning that they suppos'd we were entirely in their power, and had they determin'd to keep us against our inclination nothing could have prevented them: Indeed I believe few nations would enquire much into the propriety of detaining three or four people if it could answer any particular purpose. It would be of little consequence to the sufferer in such a situation to know that their motive was merely curiosity; for though we might have suffer'd nothing from personal danger yet to men accusom'd to a more active & extensive scene of life this place would have been little better than a prison, as it seems natural for mankind to prefer the full exertion of the facultys of the mind to pampering the Body and merely satisfying the natural appetites.

We regretted much that their behaviour prevented us making any observations on the country, for we were seldom a hundred yards from the place where we were introduc'd to the chiefs on landing and consequently were confin'd only to the objects that surrounded us. It

was an opportunity I had long wish'd for, to see a people following the dictates of nature without being bias'd by education or corrupted by an intercourse with more polish'd nations, and to observe them at leisure, but was here disappointed. The first thing that presented itself worth our notice was the number of people, which must at least have been two thousand, for those who welcom'd us on the shore bore no proportion to what we found amongst the trees on proceeding a little way up. We could also observe that except a few those we had hitherto seen on board were all of the lower class, for a great number of those here had a superior dignity in their air & were of a much whiter cast. In general they had the hair ty'd on the crown, long, black and of a most luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in shape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women and to appearance of a disposition as amiable; others who were more advanc'd in years were corpulent & all had a remarkable smoothness of the skin. Their common dress was a piece of cloth or matt wrap'd about the waste which cover'd the Privities, but some had pieces of matts most curiously varied with black & white made into a sort of jacket without sleeves, & others wore conic caps of coconut coir neatly interwoven with small beads made of a shelly substance. Their ears were pierc'd in which they hung bits of the membranous part of some plant or stuck an odoriferous flower which seem'd to be a species of *Gardenia*.¹ Some who were of a superior class, and also the chiefs, had two little balls with a common base made from the bone of some animal which was hung round the neck with a great many folds of small cord:² and the last came as any of the other people when the Ceremony of Introduction was over, for they now appear'd without their red feathers which we took for a regal distinction, as none had any but these & the women who danc'd. Some were punctuated all over the sides and back in an uncommon manner and the women had it on the legs, but this method was confin'd to those who seem'd to be of a superior rank & the men in that case were also commonly distinguish'd by their size & corpulency unless very young. The women who were of an advanc'd age or had done bearing children had the hair cropp'd short, & many were cut all over the body with oblique lines which form'd rhomboidal figures, some of which had been so lately done that the coagulated blood still remain'd in the wounds. The wife of one of the chiefs appear'd with her child laid in a piece of red cloth which had been presented to her

¹Probably this was *Gardenia taitensis*, the *Tiare tahiti*.

²The thing was known as a *rei*, from the 'bone' of which it was made—a whale tooth or *rei*. Buck, *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands* (B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 179, Honolulu, 1944), pp. 114-6, discusses and figures it. The 'small cord' seems to have been human hair braid.

husband, and appear'd to carry it with great tenderness, suckling it much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduc'd his daughter who was young and beautifull but appear'd with all the timidity natural to the sex, though she gaz'd on us with a sort of anxious concern that seem'd to struggle with her fear & express her astonishment at so unusual a sight. Others advanc'd with more firmness and indeed were less reserv'd than we expected, but behav'd with a becoming modesty much more engaging than the skittish coyness or forward pertness of many young women in such a situation. We observ'd that there were few personal deformitys amongst either sex except in a few who had scars of broad superficial ulcers remaining on the face and other parts; but at the same time there appear'd but few old men or women in proportion to the whole, which might easily be accounted for from their not chusing or not being able to come from the more distant parts of the island. On the other hand the children were numerous and both these and the men climb'd the trees to look at us when we were hid by the croud that surrounded us. About a third part of the men were arm'd with clubs & spears but it was probably only those who had come from the distant parts of the isle, as many had small baskets, matts & other things fastened to their ends. The clubs were about six feet long or more, made of a hard black wood launce shap'd at the end but much broader, with the edge nicely scollop'd and the whole neatly polish'd. Others were narrower at the point, much shorter & plain and some so small as to be us'd with one hand. The spears were made of the same wood simply pointed and in general above twelve feet long, but some so short that they seem'd intended to be thrown as darts.

The place where we were all the day was under the shade of various trees in which they preserv'd their Canoes from the sun. They had eight or ten here about twenty feet long, all double (ie two single ones fasten'd together by rafters lash'd across), about four feet deep with the stem projecting straight forwards, the stern post rais'd near three feet & the sides rounded with a plank rais'd upon them fasten'd strongly with withs. Two of these boats were most curiously stain'd or painted all over with black in innumerable small figures, as squares, triangles &c, and exceeded by far any thing of that kind I had ever seen amongst any Indians, for they seem'd to have taken more pains in doing this than punctuating their own bodys. The paddles were about 4 feet long, nearly elliptical but broadest at the upper part. Near the same place was a hut or shade about thirty feet long & nine or ten high, in which they perhaps build these boats

but at this time it was empty. The greatest number of trees around us were Cocoa palms, some sorts of Hibiscus, a species of Euphorbia,¹ & towards the sea was a great number of that sort seen at Mang'ya nooc nainaiwa which surround this island in the same manner. They are tall and slender, not much unlike a Cypress, but with bunches of long round articulated leaves and call'd E'toâ by the natives. On the ground we saw some grass, a species of convolvulus,² and a good deal of Treacle mustard.³ There are also doubtless other fruit trees & useful plants which we did not see; for besides several sorts of plantanes they brought at different times roots which they call Taro (the Cocos of other countrys), a bread fruit & a basket of roasted nuts of a kidney shape tasting like a chesnut but coarser.⁴ Whatever the island itself may be farther in we could not tell, but towards the sea it is nothing more than a bank of coral ten or twelve feet high, steep and rugged except where there are small sandy beaches at some clefts where the ascent is graduall. The coral, though it has probably been expos'd to the weather for many centurys, has undergone no farther change than becoming black on the surface, which from its irregularity makes it appear not much unlike large Masses of some burnt substance; but on breaking some pieces off we found that at the depth of two or three inches it was just as fresh as the pieces that had been lately thrown on the beach by the sea. The excavations towards the sea mention'd at Mang'ya nooc nainaiwa were likewise seen here, but it does not seem that they are the effects of the waves dashing violently against the shore; for it is entirely lin'd by a reef or rock running to different breadths into the sea, where it ends all at once and becomes like a high steep wall. It is nearly even with the surface of the water & of a brown or brick colour, but the texture is rather porous though sufficient to withstand the washing of the surf which breaks continually upon it. The soil where we were is light & sandy but within it may differ, as we saw from the ship a reddish cast upon the rising grounds as at Mang'ya, and it is in these places the inhabitants have their houses, for we could perceive two or three with our glasses which were long and spacious.

The island is call'd Watce'oo, or Fe'nooa, Manoo, by the natives. It lyes in Lat^d s, Long^d e, about leagues from Mangya, and from the part of it we saw may be guess'd to be about leagues in circuit being of a figure. Though it is a beautifull spot it can be of little use to any ship who wants

¹ Probably *Euphorbia chamissoi*, native Atoto, very common along the seashore.

² *Ipomoea pes-caprae*, probably, not one of the cultivated sorts.

³ See p. 844, n. 4.

⁴ Called in the Cook Islands Mape or H, *Inocarpus edulis*.

refreshment from the circumstances already mentioned, unless in a case of the most absolute necessity, when from the natives knowing now the value of some of our commoditys they might be induc'd to bring off fruits to a ship standing off and on or to boats lying off the reef as ours did. It is doubtfull however if any fresh water could be procur'd, for though the Indians brought some in Cocoa nut shells they made us understand it was at a considerable distance, and it is probably only some stagnant pool as we saw nowhere any streams either at the beaches or other clefts in the Land.

According to Omace the manners of these islanders, their method of treating strangers and other circumstances are much like those of Otaheite & its neighbouring isles. Their religious ceremonies and opinions are also nearly the same, for upon enquiring the reason of one man being painted all over of a deep black we were informd that he had lately been paying his last good offices to some deceas'd friend; and we found it was upon similar occasions that the women cut themselves as already mention'd. But their superstition here exceeds that at Otaheite, for the whole inhabitants esteem themselves no less than Divinitys, a notion which Omace seem'd much to approve of and said the same was held by the inhabitants of Ma'taia or Osnaburg island. It was also from a knowledge of some particular custom, as well as the practice of the New Zealanders, that he was so much afraid of seeing them heat an oven, for he says that the natives of E'maio or York island and Borabora, of all the others that surround them, sometimes burn the bodys of such strangers as come amongst them in these ovens, that their friends coming in search of them may not be able to trace them out and revenge their death. Their Language is a dialect of that spoken at Otaheite, but amongst other things they stole a memorandum book in which I had noted down a Specimen of it.

FRIDAY 4th. Lat. 19.50-19.50.33. Long. 201.31 E-00.00-202.47. Therm. 78½:83½:83:82:80:80½. The wind ebn. Gentle breezes with fine weather. A swell from y^e Eward. As we found there was no prospect of obtaining any refreshment either for ourselves or the cattle without much trouble at Watce'oo we steer'd for the small island and came up with it about ten in the forenoon. Two boats with the first Lieutenant were sent on shore, and we landed on the west part though with some difficulty, as there was a reef without the shore exactly as at Watce'oo but with less surf. The Boats stern was veer'd in first & we leap'd upon the reef when a favourable opportunity offer'd, but it is doubtfull if this would be practicable at all

the Ship; when he got alongside it was with much reluctance he ventured on board. He was taken under the half Deck & the Cattle shewn to him; the Captain took him into his Cabin, but the agitation of mind he was in, left him but little at leisure to make any Observation except that there was a way out of the Quarter Gallery into the Water, of Which Discovery he was going to avail himself but was prevented & sent on Shore in the Pinnace. He was remarkably stout & a very good looking Fellow. His Hair was tyed on the Crown of his Head & his arms were tattowed & no other part. He was quite naked excepting his waist round which a piece of Cloth was tyed, he wore a Shell on his breast as an ornament, depending from a String round his neck, he had a kind of Sandals on his feet made of matting. The Language of these people tho' not exactly the same as the Otaheitean was pretty well understood by Omai. We saw only one of their Houses, it stood close to the Beach, was large and a fishing Net was hanging before it to dry. The Island has a most beautiful appearance being full of Cocoa nut & other fruit Trees that grow between the Tropics; it is called by the Natives Mang-ia nooc nai naiwa.

Finding no anchoring or landing place we got our Boats in & made Sail, and on the 31st of March we discovered two Islands ahead of us.¹ April the 1st: Several Fires were made on the larger Island. April 2^d: we were within five or 6 Miles to leeward of it. Several Canoes came off to us with a few Cocoa nuts, Plantains & one Hog; for this we gave them a few Nails & other trifles. Boats were sent to look for a landing Place but returned without having found one, they met with four Men belonging to Otaheite who had been driven here many years before by contrary Winds & hospitably entertained by the Natives. As they had never heard of a Ship they must have been driven here before the Discovery of Otaheite by Captⁿ Wallis, Being married here & well pleased with their Situation they did not wish to return to their own Country, tho' Omai who knew their Relations, told them that we were going thither & that they might accompany us if they choose. There had been five of them cast away upon this Island, one of them was lately dead.

APRIL 3rd.² A great Number of Canoes came alongside of us to day & the Indians made no hesitation at coming on board the Ship. Every object being to them entirely new excited their admiration & astonishment which were strongly pictured on their Countenance, the Cattle & Peacock particularly engaged their attention. Every thing

¹ Takutea on 31 March, Atiu on 1 April.

² This date should be the 2nd.

they had from us they smelled at, they smelled our Skin & expressed their Surprise by the Exclamation oh! frequently repeating it & at the same time strike their Breasts; they brought us a few Cocoa nuts, Plantains and a piece of breadfruit & a Hog for which they desired a Dog which they saw in the Ship and it was given them. The first Lieut. accompanied by another Gent^l and Omai was sent with two Boats to search for a landing Place & had orders to take one of the Discovery's Boats along with him. There was on board that Ship a large corpulent Man who seemed to be a Chief, who had been prevailed upon with much intreaty to come on board in the Morning, having first sent a Bough of a Plantain Tree as a Sign of peace. Omai understanding their Language entered into Conversation with the Indian Chief, a Bough of a Cocconut tree was brought to them & Omai went through many Ceremonies with him, repeating short Sentences after him at each of which they pulled a Leaf off the Bough. After this was over the Chief invited our people on shore promising them a Supply of Hogs & other refreshments which the Island afforded. The Name of this Man was Otenou-hura.¹ He had a Hatchet, Nails, red Cloth & a looking Glass given him; he then accompanied the Lieut. into the Pinnace which rowed towards the Shore followed by the two Cutters which had some Indians on board. A present was prepared for the Arc or King of the Island whose Name was Oterrow.² On coming in shore they found the Surf run too high to attempt landing in their Boat. The Islanders in their Canoes wait close to the reef & take the Opportunity of the first high Surf to paddle over the edge of it, and as soon as the Surf begins to retire they jump out on the reef & haul the Canoes over. Otenou-hura went on Shore in a Canoe taking with him the present for the Arc who was come down on the reef to look at them. Our People then rowed along shore from the North to the S^e Point of the Island without finding any Opening in the reef or anchoring Ground. Many of the Indians came off to the Boats & behaved in a peaceable and friendly Manner. However they made two attempts to steal but on Discovery the things were brought back. A Hanger was taken out of one of the Cutters & halfway a shore before it was missed, but when the Indian who had come with them from the Ship was made acquainted with it he called to the Thief and got it restored, for which piece of Service they gave him a looking Glass & some Knives. He invited them to go with him on Shore but they could not accompany him on account of the bad landing; in the Afternoon a Present from the Arc of a Hog, Cocoa nuts & plantains came to each Ship. At Sunset the Canoes

¹ Tinokura.

² Atirau.

went on Shore & one of the Indians who happened to be between Decks at the time was left behind, he was hospitably entertained that night being both fed & clothed & in the morning he went on Shore.

THURSDAY APRIL 3rd. The Swell had during the night set us considerably off shore so that it was late in the forenoon before we got near enough to send the Boats away. About eleven o'clock the first Lieut in the Pinnace with a Cutter from each Ship went again to try to land, intending to get on shore in a Canoe & leave the boats at a Grapling on the outside of the reef, while he endeavoured to procure refreshments from the Indians which the Boats were ready to receive. Accordingly he & Omai got into one Canoe & the other Gentlemen into another & were all safely landed. They were immediately surrounded by a great Concurrence of People. A Man stained all over black kept the Croud at a little distance with a small Stick. Some armed Men marched before them to make a Lane through the Croud, who during the Procession sung a short Sentence consisting of only four Words, which they repeated all the Way in one tone & keeping exact time. Having got about thirty paces from the Beach an old Man with a large Bough met and saluted them by joining Noses, they afterwards met another Man whom they likewise saluted & at length came before the Arc who was sitting under a Tree. The Croud now left off singing. Our People saluted the Arc & sat down by him. Oterrow the Arc or King was an elderly corpulent man with a strong marked sensible Countenance. He received them with Cordiality. His Cloathing was a piece of very fine matting wrapped round his waist & Sandals on his feet made of Cocoa nut rind platted, he was naked above the waist like all his Subjects. While they were sitting by him they heard a hissing & rattling Noise that resembled the grinding of Knives & Children's rattles; this was followed by a party of armed Men in three Ranks 7 or 8 men in each, armed with Clubs and Spears, Every other Man having his spear pointed forwards held in both hands like a Pike, or charged Bayonet. In this order they marched or rather danced along without altering their Pace or the direction of their Spears, the people being oblig'd to get out of their way as fast as they could, this procession was to clear the way for the Lieut. & Omai who landed a little while after the two other Gentlemen & were now introduced into the Arc's presence. Omai stopped at about four or five yards distance & sitting down made a Speech which being answered by the King, Omai sent him a small Bunch of red feathers & then sat down by the other Gentlemen. They were now entertained with singing and dancing by the Women much in

the Stile of the Friendly Isles. The woman are small & handsome, rather darker coloured than the Otaheiteans. Omai, perhaps to shew his Gallantry, took a Cocoa nut & drawing a very handsome Dirk which had been given him in England, broke it open & presented it to one of the Ladies. The King & all about him admired the Dirk exceedingly & it is probable that the People were instructed to steal it if an opportunity offered. The Croud being very great and the Weather sultry two of the Gent. rose in order to get a little fresh Air and look about them, but they were followed & pestered with such a Croud of people that flocked round them out of Curiosity and a desire of pilfering what they could (which they now began to do without minding Detection so they made sure of their booty) that they thought it best to return into the Arc's Company again. On their coming back Omai gave them to understand that the Indians would not suffer them to return to their boats; wishing to be convinced of this the two Gent^l again left the Company & walked towards the Beach, but were stopped before they reached the waterside by a man unarmed, not being willing to understand him they would have gone on when two Fellows with Clubs stepped before them, on this they returned back & found M^r Gore & Omai in Company with another Chief, the man who first saluted them after landing & who they afterwards learned was the Chief Priest. Omai argued a great deal with this Man but he told him that they would not be suffered to go away before dark, however to be further satisfied they all four walked towards the Beach, but were again stopped. The Croud now robbed them without any Ceremony especially when they were not in the Company of a Chief. A Fan which had been given to one of the Gent^l by Oterrow they attempted to snatch from him, but failing in that one of them wrenched it out of his Hands by force. In going up from the Beach this Gentleman was separated from his Companions, & tho' he could see where they were by the Crowd that surrounded them he was not suffered to join them, but detained by a Chief he had not seen before, with him he remained an hour, he made many fruitless attempts to go giving him a part of what yet remained. At length growing impatient he struggled with those who held him, when the Chief thinking perhaps he had got his Share told them to let him go and he immediately rejoined his Company. They were all now put in charge of Otenowhura the Chief who had come off to the Ships the day before. M^r Gore complained to him that he had lost every thing out of his Pockets & been robbed of the Bayonet he wore by his side, but got no answer but that the Thief was gone with it to

the other side of the Island. An oblong Ring was presently formed with Otenowhura at the head & the Strangers seated in a Row on his left hand; being still pestered with pickpockets they thought it best to have the Credit of giving away what was left, so they made several Presents to the Women who were at hand. The Sun was now near setting and Omai again remonstrated with Otenowhura who was very reserved, scarcely affording us any answer. Omai however put the best face he could on the Affair & taking one of their Clubs began to talk about the Otaheite Method of fighting, he then stood up in the middle of the ring & shewed them the Otaheite War Heivah; this engaged their attention much and soon after Oterrow, who had not been with us for a considerable time, came & stood near the Ring to see Omai perform his Exercise. The Countenances of the Chiefs gradually cleared up & they by degrees shook off that reserve & Stiffness which they had hitherto observed; Oterrow came & sat down by them & after laughing with Omai about some part of the Otaheite Fighting, which it seems much resembled their own, he enquired where Britannia was & how we fought. Omai happened to have a Musket Cartridge about him which he shewed & taking the Ball out told them that if we but saw a Man at any distance we could kill him with a Musket. The Powder was put on the Ground & a live Coal asked for which was thrown on it. The Indians were astonished at the sudden Explosion & enquired if we had many Balls & much Powder & they answered in the Affirmative. Whilst Omai was thus entertaining them one of the Gentlemen saw the Indian who had been in the boat the day before, & got the Hanger that was stolen returned. He was pleased at being remembered & he afterwards made the Gent. a present of a large Basket full of roasted nuts like Chesnuts.¹ Some Leaves were now spread & four baskets each containing roasted Pork & Plantains were laid on them. Oterrow retired and they were desired to eat, each of them having one basket; when they had done the remains were tyed up with some bunches of Cocoa nuts and they were then informed they might go & a Guide was appointed them. The Cocoa nuts & remains of their Dinner were carried down to the Beach & Canoes brought to carry them over the reef, it was now dark & they made the best of their way on board in their own boats; being at liberty they proposed finishing the remainder of their Dinner, but on searching found nothing in the Baskets but the Plantains, the black Guards having stole the roast Pork & they had likewise made shift to steal the Basket of Nuts. Omai's Dirk was gone tho' he pretended not to miss it till he got on

¹ Tahitian Ihi, Tongan Ihi, *Inocarpus edulis*.

board. Our People were apprehensive that the Indians intended to keep them on the Island, & perhaps the sight of the Powder & description of their Arms which they had seen in the Boats made them alter their Intentions. Still it is probable that the Natives intended only to keep them in durance for a short time merely to gratify their Curiosity, for they were as much pleased & astonished with looking at them as the rabble rout in England are with seeing a Collection of wild Beasts at a Country Fair.

They are a stout good looking People. Some of them have their Bodies tattawed in various places, but most of them only their Legs which makes them appear at a distance as if booted, they wear a piece of Cloth variously striped round their middle & have Sandals on their Feet. Some of the Chiefs are amazingly corpulent. Their tattawing seems to be a kind of Heraldry, for those of the same tribe or Family were marked exactly alike,² however our stay was too short to make us certain of such Circumstances as these. The Natives call the Island *Watdu*,³ it is situated in Lat. 20.00 S, Long. 202.00 E, it was never visited before by Europeans. The small Island to the Northward is called *Modu*,⁴ it is not inhabited, the people of *Watdu* go to it to catch Turtle. The first Question that was put to us by these People & those of the last Island was, 'Who is your Arc or Chief?'

APRIL 4th. We were close in with the small Island called *Modu* distant from the other 4 or 5 Leagues. The Boats were sent on shore while the Ship lay off and on, they found great difficulty in landing on account of the high Surf which breaks on the Shore. At night they returned with a few Cocoa nuts, and Palm trees for the Cattle whose Provender began to grow very short; the Island is about a mile long & a quarter broad; they found the Ruins of two or three Huts and an old Canoe on the Beach. At night we bore away & in the Morning were out of Sight of land.

APRIL 5th. The light easterly winds having detained us so long & kept us so far to the westward of the Society Islands as to exclude all Hopes of being able to attempt anything to the Northward this Year, it was judged necessary to put the Ships' Companies to two thirds Allowance of all Provisions except Spirits of which the full allowance continues to be served.

SUNDAY APRIL 6th. Early in the morning we saw Hervey's Isles, they are two low Islands joined by a reef 7 or 8 miles in length from

² This seems most unlikely, anyhow as to the 'heraldry'. Of course there were 'stock patterns'.

³ *Atiu*.

⁴ *Takutua* or *Fenua Iti*. *Modu* = *modu*, island.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: MISSIONARIES & TRADERS

After the departure of Cook, Atiu was not visited by Europeans for 45 years. In 1822 John Orsmond of the London Missionary Society sent two "native teachers" from Borabora to the island. Their attempts to convert the population to Christianity, however, were largely unsuccessful. John Williams, who arrived two or three months later (while searching for Rarotonga), had far more effect. Although he was only there for several days, he persuaded the people to burn their "idols", demolish their marae, and start to build a church. Over the next few years, occasional visits were made by missionaries based in Tahiti. In 1836 Papeiha was sent over from Rarotonga, and in 1842 E.R.W.Krause arrived from Central America. After a short stay, during which his wife's health deteriorated, Krause was obliged to leave.

Unlike islands such as Rarotonga and Mangaia, then, Atiu never had a permanently resident European missionary. For this reason, many of the following accounts--which were written during brief visits--are less substantial than they might have been. The only Cook Islander included is Maretu, a Rarotongan pastor. His description of Atiu is reproduced in an English translation (see Source 9).

In the second half of the century, Atiuans began to provision ships (especially whalers) that stopped at the island; and several European traders settled there. One of these is described by an American called E.H.Lamont (see Source 10). This piece is useful because it presents an outsider's view of the mission which enables the reader to form a more balanced picture of its activities. E.Lucatt was also a trader (see Source 12).

CHAPTER VI.

Visit to Atiu—Conversion of the King—The power of Scripture Truth—
The Discovery of Mauke—Introduction of Christianity into it and Mitiaro
—Lord Byron's Testimony—Regard to the Sabbath-day by a Native Crew
—Go again in search of Rarotonga.

ON leaving Mangaia, we steered for Atiu. To this island, our brother Missionary, Mr. Orsmond, had sent two teachers, some two or three months before our arrival. We found them in a most pitiable condition, having been stripped by the natives of every article of property, suffering exceedingly from hunger, and much disheartened by their want of success. We had not been long near the island, when we perceived a large double canoe approaching us, in the centre of which, on an elevated stage, was seated the principal chief. His person was tall and slender, and his aspect commanding. He was clothed in a white shirt, having a piece of Indian print girt around his loins; his long and beautiful black hair hung gracefully over his shoulders, or waved in the passing breeze, as, with the motion of his body, he kept time to the rowers. We gave him a hearty welcome on board. Our friend from Aitutaki was so full of zeal for the conversion of his brother chieftain, that, as soon as he reached the deck, he led him away from us, and commenced his

work by informing him that the maraes of Aitutaki were demolished, the great idols burnt, and the smaller ones were on board the ship, to be conveyed to Raiatea, the island from which the teachers came who had instructed him. To this he added, that a large white house made of "*toka tunu*," burnt or roasted stone, had been erected, and dedicated to the worship of Jehovah, who was the only true God. "All our offerings to our false gods," continued this now Christian chief, his countenance gleaming with animation as he spoke, "cannot procure us pardon; but God has given his Son Jesus Christ to die for us, and through Him mercy is bestowed. I am come," said he, "to advise you to receive the good word. Our gods were one formerly, mine are now all abandoned, many of them destroyed; let us both worship one God again, but let it be the true God." In confirmation of his statements, he led the astonished chieftain into the hold of the vessel, and exhibited to his view their once dreaded, and, as they imagined, powerful gods, which were lying there in degradation. By some circumstance, which I do not now recollect, this chief was induced to remain on board during the night, and the following day being Sabbath, he attended worship. In the course of my address, I read and commented upon what is said by David and Isaiah in reference to idols. The mind of Roma-tane was powerfully impressed by these vivid representations of the folly of idolatry, especially by the words, "with part thereof he

roasteth roast, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god." Nothing could be better calculated to make an impression on the mind of an intelligent South Sea islander than these inimitable verses of inspired truth; indeed, the effect is likely to be far greater than that produced on the mind of an English reader. The natives have two words not very much unlike, but expressive of opposite ideas,—*moa* and *noa*, the *moa* meaning sacred, and *noa* the very reverse of sacred. All that pertains to the gods is the superlative of *moa*; and all that pertains to food, and the cooking of food, the superlative of *noa*. The idea now, for the first time, darted with irresistible force, into the mind of Romatané; and he perceived at once the excessive folly of making a god and cooking food from one and the same tree; thus uniting two opposite extremes, the *moa* and the *noa*. The astonished chief appeared for some time lost in wonder. At length he retired and spent the whole of the night in conversation with the teachers and chiefs from Aitutaki about the wonderful truths he had heard, frequently rising up, and stamping with astonishment that he should have been deluded so long, and expressing his determination never again to worship his idol gods. "Eyes, it is true," said he, "they have, but wood cannot see; ears they have, but wood cannot hear."

Very early the following day, the teachers came to us with this pleasing intelligence; and in a subse-

quent conversation with the chief, he expressed to us his full determination to demolish his maraes, to burn his idols, and to commence immediately erecting a house for the worship of Jehovah. We proposed that he should accompany us to the Society Islands; to which he objected, saying, that he should not go under the same favourable circumstances as his brother chief from Aitutaki; besides which, he wished at once to commence the good work, and expressed a desire to purchase an axe from us, with which to cut down trees for the posts of "God's house." The chief was now in haste to leave us; but having heard that there were two small islands in the vicinity of Atiu, one of which was unknown to Europeans, we determined to go in search of them; and learning that Roma-tané was the chief, we proposed that he should accompany us, and use his influence in procuring a favourable reception for the teachers who were repulsed from Mangaia. In addition to this motive, we thought that a few days' further intercourse with us might prove beneficial to our new convert, and were therefore glad when he acceded to our proposal. The first evidence which he gave of his sincerity was an authoritative command that no person should cut and scratch their heads and faces on account of his absence; which they commonly do, under such circumstance, with sharp stones and sharks' teeth.

On our arrival at *Mitiaro* the king sent for the resident chief of the island, to whom he stated that the object of his visit was to exhort him and the

people to burn the maraes, abandon the worship of their gods, and place themselves under the instruction of a teacher whom we were about to leave with them, and who would teach them the word and worship of the true God, Jehovah. He wished, moreover, that the house they were erecting for himself should be converted into a house of prayer, under the direction of the teacher. The people listened with astonishment, and inquired if the gods would not be all enraged, and strangle them. "No," replied the king, "it is out of the power of the wood, that we have adorned and called a god, to kill us." "But," said one, "must we burn *Tarianui*?* or Great Ears.*" "Yes," replied the king, "commit him and all the evil spirits to the flames." He then requested them to behave with kindness to Tana, the teacher, and give attention to his instructions. They asked the king if he would not come to the celebration of the great festival which he had ordered them to prepare. He replied, that he should come, but that it would be on different business. "I shall come," said the chief, "to behold your steadfastness in this good work, and your kindness to the teachers you have received."

Having been graciously prospered to the utmost bounds of our expectation at Mitiaro, we proceeded, with grateful hearts and excited expectations, in search of *Mauke*, which we succeeded in finding without much difficulty, the chief having directed us correctly. On arriving at this island, the

* The name of a god of which the king himself was the priest.

king conducted the teacher and his wife to the shore. Tararo, the chief, with a number of the people, were waiting on the beach to welcome their king. The first words he uttered as he leaped on the shore were, "I am come to advise you to receive the word of Jehovah, the true God, and to leave with you a teacher and his wife, who will instruct you. Let us destroy our maraes, and burn all the evil spirits with fire; never let us worship them again. They are wood, which we have carved and decorated, and called gods. Here is the true God and his word, and a teacher to instruct you. The true God is Jehovah, and the true sacrifice is his Son Jesus Christ." He exhorted them also to erect a house in which to worship the true God, and to be diligent in learning his good word. After the astonishment produced by the king's address had subsided a little, the natives replied, that as he assured them that it was a "good word and brought salvation," they would receive it, and place themselves under the instruction of the teacher. The king then invited the principal chief Tararo and his wife to attend family worship that evening, to which they consented. After this they inquired of the king when they might expect him at the great festival which they were preparing for him; and at another, called *Takuraa*, at which the most obscene ceremonies were performed. He replied, that "all those infamous customs, connected with the worship of their false gods should now be abandoned; but that he would visit

them again; to behold their stedfastness in the good word." After this he exhorted the people to behave kindly to Haavi and his wife, and to supply them with plenty of food. He then gave them a new house, which had been erected for himself, shook hands with them affectionately, and came on board the vessel. Were three islands ever converted from idolatry in so short a time! so unexpectedly!—islands almost unknown, and two never before visited by any European vessel! In, as it were, one day, they were induced to consent to the destruction of what former generations had venerated, and they themselves looked upon as most sacred.

It is a pleasing reflection, that the very first vessel which visited the islands of Mitiaro and Mauke carried the glad tidings of salvation to them. In this people the words of the Psalmist have a striking fulfilment: "As soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me; the strangers shall submit themselves unto me." The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauke and Mitiaro imagine, that before he retired beneath the horizon in the western sky, Ichabod would be written upon the idolatry of their ancestors. How sudden and unexpected, at times, are the gifts of a bountiful Providence! How unlooked-for, unsought, the communications of God's mercy! The king of Atiu came on board of our vessel to gratify his curiosity, and was at that time a bigoted idolater, having even threat-

ened to put the teachers to death; but was induced to embrace the truth himself—to use his influence in overthrowing the superstitions of ages in two islands—and then to return to his own with a full determination to do the same there. Could we be restrained from exclaiming, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?" Our troubles at Mangaia were forgotten in the joy we now experienced, and the present failure at that island was compensated by the abundant success which attended us here.

The next vessel which visited Mauke was his Majesty's superb frigate, the *Blonde*, commanded by the Hon. Captain Lord Byron, who had just conveyed the bodies of the deceased chiefs of the Sandwich Islands to their own country. From the published Narrative of that voyage I present the following extract:—

Extract from the Voyage of H. M. Ship Blonde. Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander.

"On the 8th of August, to our great surprise, land was descried from the mast head; and as it was uncertain, from its position, whether it was one of the islands discovered by Captain Cook, we bore up for it. A boat was lowered, and Mr. Mulden, with a reconnoitring party, proceeded towards the shore, with strict injunctions, however, to be very cautious in endeavouring to ascertain the disposition of the natives, before he attempted to land among them. On our approaching the island, we attempted, by signs, to induce a man to swim off to the boat; this he naturally enough refused to do; but from his gesticulations, we understood that there was no landing-place there; yet on the other side of the island we should find one.

"Next morning we proceeded to the lee-side of the island, and perceiving several canoes coming off to us, we lay-to for them. The first that reached us was a single man, whose costume soon convinced us that we were not the first visitors of this solitary place. He wore a straw hat, shaped like a common English hat; and besides his *maro*, or waist-cloth, he wore a cloak of *tapa*, of the same form with the South American poncho. While we were questioning our visitor, another canoe of very singular construction came alongside of us. Two persons, who, by their dress and appearance, seemed to be of some importance, now stepped on board, and, to our great surprise, produced a written document from that branch of the London Missionary Society settled at Otaheite, qualifying them to act as teachers in the island of Mauko. They were very fine-looking men, dressed in cotton shirts, cloth jackets, and a sort of petticoat of very fine mat, instead of trowsers.

"They were much astonished at every thing they saw on board the frigate, though it appeared they were not ignorant of the use of guns and other things; but they evidently had never seen so large a vessel. The galley-fire, and the players on wind instruments in the band, seemed to surprise and delight them more than any thing. Our bread they ate, after smelling it; but it is impossible to describe their faces of disgust on tasting the wine.

"As soon as their curiosity was satisfied, we determined to avail ourselves of their local knowledge as guides, and to go on shore. We embarked in two boats, taking one of the Missionaries in each; but we found the surf on the beach so violent that we got into the natives' canoes, trusting to their experience for taking us safely through: this they did with admirable dexterity; and our passage in the canoes convinced us that no boat of ours could have effected a landing. When we arrived, it appeared as if the whole male population had assembled to greet us; the only two women, however, were the wives of the Missionaries, decently clothed from head to foot. Each individual of this numerous assembly pressed forward to shake hands, and seemed unhappy till this sign of friendship had passed; this ceremony being over, they conducted us towards their habitations, which were about

two miles inland. Our path lay through a thick shady wood, on the skirts of which, in a small open space, two handsome canoes were building. They were each eighty feet long; the lower part, as usual, of a single tree, hollowed out with great skill. The road was rough over the fragments of coral, but it wound agreeably through the grove, which improved in beauty as we advanced; and at length, to our surprise and pleasure, terminated in a beautiful green lawn, where were two of the prettiest white-washed cottages imaginable—the dwellings of the Missionaries.

"The inside of their dwellings corresponded with their exterior neatness. The floors were boarded; there were a sofa and some chairs of native workmanship; windows, with Venetian shutters, rendered the apartments cool and agreeable. The rooms were divided from each other by screens of *tapa*, and the floor was covered with coloured varnished *tapa*, resembling oil-cloth. We were exceedingly struck with the appearance of elegance and cleanliness of all around us, as well as with the modest and decorous behaviour of the people, especially the women.

"After partaking of the refreshment offered us by our hostess, which consisted of a baked pig, bread-fruit, and yams, we accompanied the Missionaries to their church. It stands on rising ground, about four hundred yards from the cottages. A fence composed of the trunks of cocoa-nut trees, surrounds the area in which it stands. Its form is oval, and the roof is supported by four pillars, which bear up the ridge. It is capable of containing two hundred persons. Two doors and twelve windows give it light and air: the pulpit and reading-desk are neatly carved and painted with a variety of pretty designs, and the benches for the people are arranged neatly round. Close to the church is the burying-place, which is a mound of earth covered with green sward; and the whole has an air of modest simplicity, which delighted no less than surprised us."

After giving a short account of the introduction of Christianity among this interesting people, the writer proceeds:—

"Thus, in one day, and that the first in which a vessel from the

civilised world touched there, the superstitions of ages were overturned, and the knowledge of the true God brought among a docile and, generally speaking, innocent people.

"On our return to the beach, one of the Missionaries accompanied us. As we retraced our steps through the wood, the warbling of the birds, whose plumage was as rich as it was new to us—the various tinted butterflies that fluttered across our path—the delicious climate—the magnificent forest-trees—and, above all, the perfect union and harmony existing among the natives—presented a succession of agreeable pictures which could not fail to delight us."

I called at the island shortly after the visit of the Blonde. The Missionaries and people spoke with gratitude and delight of the kindness shown by his Lordship and other gentlemen, while they exhibited the valuable presents they had received from their generous visitors.

The work at Atiu was equally rapid. Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet were the next visitors to that island; and the first intelligence they received on approaching it, was, that the whole population had renounced their idols, and had built a large chapel. This great work had been accelerated by the arrival of a boat of mine, which had been sent to Tahiti, to communicate the painful intelligence of the death of Mrs. Threlkeld, the wife of my excellent coadjutor. She arrived in safety at Tahiti, but on her return to Raiatea, lost her way; we therefore concluded that she had sunk, and that the crew had perished at sea. But in this we were happily mistaken; for, after having been driven about the ocean for six weeks,

during which time they suffered exceedingly from hunger and thirst, they reached Atiu. Here, by the attention of their brethren the teachers, and the hospitality of Roma-tane, they soon regained both flesh and strength. Several of them immediately united with the teachers in preaching the Gospel, and instructing the people: the effect of which was, that the remaining half of the population, till then unconverted, believed, and cast away their idols. "Now we know," said many, "that this religion is true; for these people could not have come here to deceive us; they were driven by the waves of the ocean, and, behold, they have their books with them; and the God to whom they prayed has preserved them." Here, again, we have another striking indication of an overruling Providence, and are shown how distressing events are often made subservient to God's designs of mercy: "His ways are past finding out." The crew in this boat would, in all probability, have perished, had it not been for a little pot of rice, which a friend had sent to Mrs. Williams. They had exhausted all their food, and every drop of water long ago had been drunk; when they divided out the rice, and ate it, a grain at a time, moistening their mouths, by dipping the fibrous husk of the cocoa-nut in oil, and thoroughly masticating it. They spent their time in reading the Scriptures, singing hymns, and praying to God to preserve them from perishing by famine, or being drowned in the ocean. So great was the regard they paid to the Sabbath that the indivi-

dual who had charge of the boat informed me, that on one occasion, a large fish continued near them for a considerable time, which they could easily have caught; but, although nearly famished, they held a consultation whether it was right for them to take it, and determined "that they would not catch fish on a Sabbath-day." God graciously heard their prayers; conducted them to Atiu; rendered them useful there, and afterwards restored them to their relatives and friends. I mention this circumstance to show the tenderness of their consciences, and not as approving of the ignorance in which it originated. Had they known the meaning of the Saviour's words, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," they would of course have taken the fish.

A variety of interesting little incidents occurred at Mauke and Mitiaro, where the natives had never before seen Europeans, or European animals. The simple-hearted inhabitants were much astonished at our appearance, took hold of our hands, smelt us, turned up our sleeves, examined us most minutely, and being delighted with the whiteness of our skin, concluded that we must be very great chiefs.

When the boat was put into the sea, they involuntarily shouted, "It will upset! it will upset! it has no outrigger!" On seeing the goats, they called to their companions to come and look at the wonderful "birds with great teeth upon their heads." These innocent expressions of ignorant astonishment, with others too numerous to mention, show the impression made upon a barbarous people by

their first intercourse with civilized man. Our fish-hooks, too, they looked upon with ineffable contempt; and placing them beside the thick hooks made from cocoa-nut-shells, pearl-shells, and wood, exclaimed, "If the fish break these that are so thick and strong, alas! for such slender things!"

We had still one more island to seek; and, finding Roma-tane exceedingly intelligent, we inquired of him if he had ever heard of Rarotonga; "Oh, yes," he replied, "it is only a day and a night's sail from Atiu; we know the way there." This information delighted us; but when we inquired of him the position in which it lay, he at one time pointed in one direction, and at another in quite the opposite. But this was soon explained; for the natives, in making their voyages, do not leave from any part of an island, as we do, but, invariably, have what may be called starting-points. At these places they have certain land-marks, by which they steer, until the stars become visible; and they generally contrive to set sail so as to get sight of their heavenly guides by the time their land-marks disappear. Knowing this, we determined to adopt the native plan, and steered our vessel round to the "starting-point." Having arrived there, the chief was desired to look to the land-marks, while the vessel was being turned gradually round; and when his marks on the shore ranged with each other, he cried out, "That's it! that is it." I looked immediately at the compass,

and found the course to be S.W. by W.; and it proved to be as correct as if he had been an accomplished navigator. I mention this circumstance, because I think it to be of universal importance to all persons, in every scientific or other expedition, who seek information from natives, as it shows the correctness of their knowledge; but they must be allowed to communicate it in their own particular way. I was struck, a few days ago, in reading the address of R. King, Esq., the surgeon of the Northern Expedition, who stated, "That the expedition had failed to derive advantage from the information of the natives, by perplexing them with questions, and presenting doubts, instead of allowing them, with charcoal, to draw a rough chart upon a piece of board," &c. So it was with us; and had we not adopted the method we did, Rarotonga, in all probability, would have been unblest with the knowledge of salvation to the present day.

When we had accomplished all we could at Atiu, a large double canoe came off for our interesting guest, to whom we presented an axe or two, to cut down trees for posts for the "house of God," with some other useful articles. He then took an affectionate farewell of us, seated himself upon his elevated stage, beat time to the rowers, and hastened on shore to carry the important purposes of his mind into execution;—not, as he came on board, a bigoted idolater, but a convert to the truth.

CHAPTER XVI.

Atiu—Religious Services there—Devotedness of the Teachers' Wives—The Author's Narrow Escape—Distressing Situation—Fishing Excursion—Superb Cavern—Mauke and Mitiaro—A Dreadful Massacre—Rarotonga—An Epidemic rages—Aitutaki—Interesting Incidents—Native contributions.

ATIU.

LEAVING Mangain, we proceeded to this island, which, after two days' pleasant sail, we reached in safety.

We received a most cordial welcome from the teachers and people, who conducted us to the settlement, which occupied an elevated and beautiful situation, it being a fine extensive plain, upon the top of the mountain which forms the body of the island. The dwellings are open to the fresh breeze of the sea, of which they command a full view on every side; indeed, the chapel is the first object descried on approaching this island.

On our arrival, we were happy to meet the teachers, with the principal chiefs and people of the neighbouring islands of Mauke and Mitiaro. The object of their visit to Atiu was, first, to attend the opening of the large new chapel; and, secondly,

to be present at the marriage of Roma-tane, the king, who was about to be united to the daughter of the chief of Mauke.

On the following day we opened the chapel, which would accommodate about 1500 people. My colleague, Mr. Barff, preached from Ps. xcvii. 1, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof." After this, I administered the Lord's Supper, for the first time, to twenty communicants, among whom was the chief, who, it will be recollected, was so deeply impressed with the folly of idolatry, by the representations of Isaiah on that subject. I was truly thankful to find that he had continued firm in his principles and consistent in his conduct. Our time at this island was most fully occupied, night and day, for the people would not allow both my colleague and myself to be asleep at the same time; but as soon as one was overcome, they awoke the other; and in this way we were employed, alternately, during the nights, teaching them to sing, and explaining to them passages of Scripture, which they had noted for that purpose.

The same improvement was apparent in the females at this island as at Mangaia, through the exertions of the wives of the native teachers, who were exceedingly devoted women. The character of these two females may be illustrated by a little incident, which was mentioned to me in the course of conversation. From the scarcity of fish at this

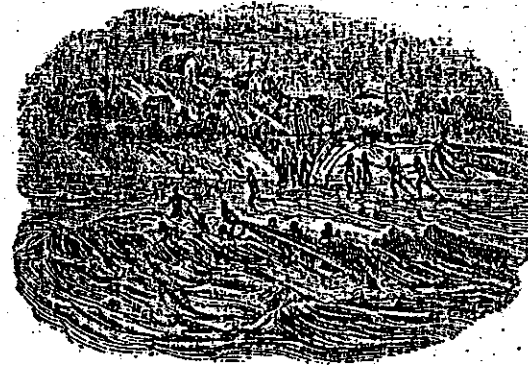
island, the people generally reserve what they catch for their families; and the teachers were therefore obliged to go on the Saturday, to procure a supply for the Sabbath. This the wives lamented, and told me that, at times, their husbands were out from morning until night. "You," they said, "resemble springs, from which knowledge is always bubbling up; so that you have nothing but to open your mouths and out it flows; but our husbands find difficulty in preparing for the services of the Sabbath." To obviate this, they begged I would write out some heads of discourses for them; at the same time informing me, that, for months past, while their husbands were fishing, they took their slates, and having recalled a text, from which they had heard some of the Missionaries preach, they endeavoured to retrace the ideas then advanced, and to collect parallel passages of Scripture, to illustrate them. By these means they had generally a slate full of something for their husbands to work from on their return.

In our examination of the school children, we were pained to find that only a few of them could read. All, however, as well as the adults, had committed to memory, most correctly, a long and instructive catechism, written by Mr. Orsmond, which contained a comprehensive system of divinity, expressed in striking and beautiful language.

On my next visit to this island my life and labours had nearly terminated. On reaching the reefs we perceived that the sea was not breaking

with its usual violence, and I therefore determined to land in the boat. This was effected without much difficulty; but on returning, before we could get a sufficient distance from the shore, another billow rolled in and overwhelmed us, and the boat with her crew was dashed upon the reef. Unfortunately, I fell toward the sea, and was conveyed by the recoil of the billow to a considerable distance from the shore, where I was twirled about in a whirlpool, and sank to a great depth. Being so long under water, I began to fear that I should rise no more. At length, however, I arose to the surface; and finding there was time for me to reach the reef before the next wave burst upon it, I swam in that direction. On perceiving my situation, two natives sprang into the sea, and, as a considerable time elapsed before the next billow arrived, I succeeded, by their assistance, in escaping its fury. The people were standing upon the reef, weeping bitterly, under the apprehension that I was lost; and on reaching the shore, they gathered around me, and demonstrated their great joy at my preservation, by touching my clothes or kissing my hands. Thus, for the sixth time, was I rescued from a watery grave!

The reefs at the water's edge are overhanging and shelving, forming hollows and caverns underneath; and the danger most to be dreaded is that of being forced, by the violence of the waves, into these submarine chasms. From such a situation escape is impossible.



Nothing particularly worthy of special notice occurred in any of my subsequent visits to Atiu, except in the last, at the latter end of 1833. On this occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Armitage, who was sent out by the London Missionary Society some years before, to teach the people the art of making cloth from the cotton which grows there with great luxuriance.* Mr. A., after making all the efforts which ingenuity could devise, or perseverance realize, for the accomplishment of his object in the Tahitian Islands, and not succeeding, accepted an invitation from the king Makea, seconded by Messrs. Pitman and Buzacott, to visit Rarotonga; and as the people of that

* While the anxiety of the Directors of the Society to promote the industry of the native converts admits of the highest commendation, I do not think that it is generally desirable to attempt the introduction of complex manufactures among an infant people. A nation in such a state should rather be encouraged to direct its energies to the production of the raw material, and to exchange that with the mother countries for manufactured articles.

island did not possess articles of barter so abundantly as the Tahitians, it was thought by us all that there was a reasonable prospect of success. Mr. Armitage, therefore, generously consented to leave his wife, and family of ten children, and go for twelve months to Rarotonga. Mr. S. Wilson also accompanied us. He is a son of our excellent brother Missionary, and, I am truly happy to say, is devoting himself to the work of preaching salvation to the heathen. His good father, thinking it might be of advantage to him in the future prosecution of his labours, expressed a wish that he should accompany me in the voyage.

On the day after our arrival at Atiu a heavy gale of wind arose, and there being no anchorage, our little vessel was driven out of sight of land; and as there was no one on board who understood navigation, I never expected to see her again. Day after day we waited and watched, with the utmost anxiety, but nothing was descried in the surrounding horizon. Saturday arrived, and not having taken a change of clothes with us, ingenuity was racked how to get those washed which we wore. The teachers' daughters, however, accomplished this exceedingly well, by using the root of a shrub called *tutu*, which produces a strong lather, equal to that of soap, and is a most admirable substitute for that valuable article.

We set apart a portion of every morning, and retired to the chapel for social prayer, to seek direction from above in our distressing circumstances;

and I can truly say that we found these services seasons of refreshing from the presence of our God. After having given up all hope of again seeing our vessel, we held a consultation as to whether we had better build a boat with what materials we could obtain on the island, and sail to Rarotonga; or remain where we were. After much deliberation and prayer, we concluded that, as a peculiar providence had placed us there, it appeared to be the path of duty to wait patiently till God, in the exercise of the same providence, should afford us the means of removal; and determined to employ ourselves as fully as possible for the benefit of the people, as this would materially assist in making us contented and happy in our painful situation. For this purpose Mr. Armitage selected wood with which to make spinning-wheels, while I made arrangements for the erection of a new school-house; and just as we had commenced, a little boy reported that, in the dusk of the evening, he had seen a speck upon the horizon, and we waited with no small anxiety for the morning's dawn. Long before daylight I was upon the brow of the hill; and when the sun arose, I perceived, with feelings of inexpressible delight, the object of our solicitude. Our joy, however, was awakened principally by the consideration that our families would now be spared the distressing anxiety which otherwise they must have endured for months on our account.

On going on board the vessel, all the account I could get from the crew was, that the gale became

so furious during the night, that it had blown them away, and in the morning, they found themselves out of sight of land; and that after being tossed about for many days, a strong wind in the opposite direction had driven them back again. The only loss that had been sustained was the death of one of the calves I was conveying to our brethren at Rarotonga. The people of the island wept when they saw the vessel, but, unmoved by their tears, we returned thanks to God for delivering us out of our distresses, hoisted our sails, took leave of the kind but disappointed people, and pursued our voyage.

During our involuntary residence at Atiu, we determined, one night, to accompany the natives on a fishing excursion. Flying fish were the objects of our pursuit, and these are caught only after dark. We arrived at the seaside at about eight o'clock. The teachers and their families, and indeed most of the inhabitants of the settlement, were of the party, and brought their sleeping-mats with an intention of lodging upon the sea-shore, while we spent the night in chasing the poor fish. With these expeditions many idolatrous ceremonies were formerly connected. On the present occasion we all knelt down upon the coral bank, and one of the natives, according to their usual practice, offered up a suitable prayer. The canoes were then dragged from the rocks, thirty feet above the level of the water, down a broad sloping-ladder, and launched over the surf into the sea. Double canoes are

always used on these occasions, three of which formed our expedition. Mr. Armitage was seated on one, Mr. Wilson on another, and myself on the third. The rowers being ready, a flambeau was lighted. The principal man then took his station on the fore part of the canoe. He was provided with a net, attached to a light pole, twelve or fifteen feet long, and kept open by a ring of elastic wood, in the shape of an ace of spades. Every preparation being made, the rowers commenced pulling with all their strength, and the headsman stamped upon the box of the canoe, which, being hollow, produced a considerable sound. This, together with the splashing of the oars, frightened the fish, which darted from the back of the reef, where they were quietly feeding, towards the ocean. The torches answered two purposes; for while they enabled the headsman to discover his prey, they also dazzled the eyes of the fish; and as they dashed past his canoe, on the surface of the water, he thrust forward his net, and turned it over upon them. The quickness of the natives' sight and the rapidity and dexterity of their motions were truly astonishing. At times, they catch vast quantities in this way. The fish, however, on that night, did not happen to be numerous; and at the end of two hours we returned, having taken but twenty. The other canoes were even less successful. On landing, every fish was brought and laid at our feet; and had the canoes been laden, the whole would have been at our

disposal. We returned to the settlement, much gratified with our entertainment.

The natives of Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro, have a method of smoke-drying the flying-fish, by which they can preserve them for any length of time. I am not aware that at any other islands of the Pacific this practice is adopted. They have also, with very considerable ingenuity, so constructed their canoes, as to be enabled to use boat-oars, which they prefer as being far less exhausting than their paddles.



Racked and restless with anxiety, we occasionally took a ramble about the island; and in the course of one of our walks, mention was made by the natives who accompanied us of caverns; and, upon inquiry, I found that there were several in the island of very large dimensions: we determined, therefore, to visit one of them. Taking with us a supply of reeds for flambeaux, we arrived at the mouth of the largest, which is called *Taketake*; when we descended about twenty feet, through a chasm in the rocks, at the bottom of which were several majestic openings. Through one of these we entered, and proceeded I suppose a mile, when

we descried no end to its interminable windings. Innumerable openings presented themselves on all sides as we passed along, many of which appeared to be equal in height, beauty, and extent to the one which we traced. The roof of this cavern was a stratum of coral, from ten to fifteen feet in thickness, through which the water percolated. It was supported by massy and superb columns, and was thickly set with stalactites, from an inch to many feet in length. Some were of great size and beauty; others were about to communicate with the floor, and either constitute the basis of a young column, or join those growing up from beneath. The stalagmites, however, although beautiful, were not numerous. The floor is composed of the same material, and is an attractive object; for it presents the appearance of rippled water when gently agitated by the wind. At some points of our progress many openings come into view, with fretwork ceilings and innumerable supports, the sparkling of which, as they reflected the light of our torches, gave a depth and density to the darkness of the mansions they served to embellish. Fain would we have wandered longer in these gloomy places of nature, the dark and drear abodes of silence and solitude, as we longed to explore wonders on which the light of day and the eye of man had never rested. But our torches failing, we were compelled to satisfy ourselves with a cursory glance at one only of the many dreary yet beautiful ways which invited our entrance. That one, nowever, was enough to

fill us with admiration and delight. But description is impossible. The fantastic forms and sparkling concretions might have enabled a vigorous fancy to find resemblances amongst them to many majestic works of art; but the effect was produced, not so much by single objects, or groups of them, as by the amplitude, the depth, and the complication of this subterranean world. The solemn and sublime obscurity which sleeps around you adds not a little to the impressiveness of the scene.

I was much astonished, that, notwithstanding I had been in the habit of visiting this island for many years, I had never before heard of these superb caves. The natives informed me that there were six or seven others, but that the one we explored was the most splendid and extensive.

On visiting the two small islands of

MAUKE AND MITIARO,

we found the natives, who possessed but few axes, were burning down trees, for timber to erect chapels. When the tree fell, they burnt off the branches, and then proceeded to burn the trunk into various lengths. Having with me a large supply of ironmongery, furnished by my esteemed and valued friends, the Rev. T. East, and Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham, I gave them some tools, encouraged them to persevere with their work, and promised to return and open their chapels in six or eight months. On my next visit, I had the satisfaction of seeing two well-built, substantial

places of worship, which had been erected with the tools, and the doors of which were swung on the hinges that I had presented to them in the name of my kind Birmingham friends. The pulpit at Mauke was a most remarkable specimen of native ingenuity and perseverance, for it was hewn entirely out of one large tree. An hour or two before service commenced I went to the chapel, accompanied by the principal chief; and, after commending his diligence, I said to him, "How came you to build so large a place? there are not people enough in your island to fill it." Instead of answering me he hung down his head, and appeared much affected. I asked him why he wept; observing, that it was with us rather a day of joy than sorrow, for we were about to dedicate this house to God. "Oh," he replied, "I weep in consequence of what you say, that there are not people enough in the island to fill this one house; if you had but come about three years before you first visited us, this house and another like it would not have contained the inhabitants." On inquiring what had become of the people, he informed me, that about three years prior to my first arrival, a disease had raged among them, which, though not very fatal, was nearly universal. This was accompanied by a famine, the result of a severe storm, which swept over and devastated the island; and, while enduring these complicated sufferings, the warriors of Atiu came upon them in a fleet of eighty canoes, killed the people indiscriminately, set fire to the houses which

contained the sick, and having seized those who attempted to escape, tossed them upon fires kindled for the purpose. "By these means," said the chief, "we have been reduced to the remnant you now behold; and had you not come when you did, our sanguinary destroyers would have repeated their visit, killed us all, and taken the island to themselves." The person who conducted this murderous expedition was Roma-tane, whose conversion to Christianity, by my discourse upon the folly of idolatry, I have already described. And it is a deeply interesting fact, that this chieftain, who, with savage aspect and devastating cruelty had led his ferocious tribe against the almost defenceless people of Mauke, was not only the first person whose voice they heard inviting them in accents of persuasive energy to receive the Gospel of peace, but also among the very first who there united in commemorating the Saviour's death. It was truly a delightful sight, to behold the once sanguinary chieftain, with his no less blood-thirsty warriors, sitting down at the same sacramental table with the remnant of a people to whom his very name had been a terror, and whose race he had almost exterminated. Thus verifying what a speaker, at one of our native Missionary Meetings, observed: "That by the Gospel, men became Christians, and savages brethren in Christ."

The teacher, Haavi, of Mauke, with his wife, as well as Tava of Mitiaro, have proved their worth by upwards of twelve years' laborious and devoted

service. The inhabitants of Mauke are now in a very prosperous state; and in few places are the advantages resulting from Christianity more apparent, for order, harmony, and happiness prevail—abundance and comfort are enjoyed.

When I last visited this island Mrs. Williams and my family were with me; and as the natives had never seen a European female or child, their presence excited considerable interest; and crowds hastened to the beach to bid them welcome. The passago over the reef was a formidable undertaking for Mrs. Williams; but clasping Samuel with one arm, and her infant in the other, she committed herself to the skill of the natives, and was conveyed in safety over the rising billow to the shore.



The island of Mitiaro is very low, and the soil has, consequently, so little depth, that the productions are at times exceedingly scanty; and the teacher, Tava, with his large family of nine or ten

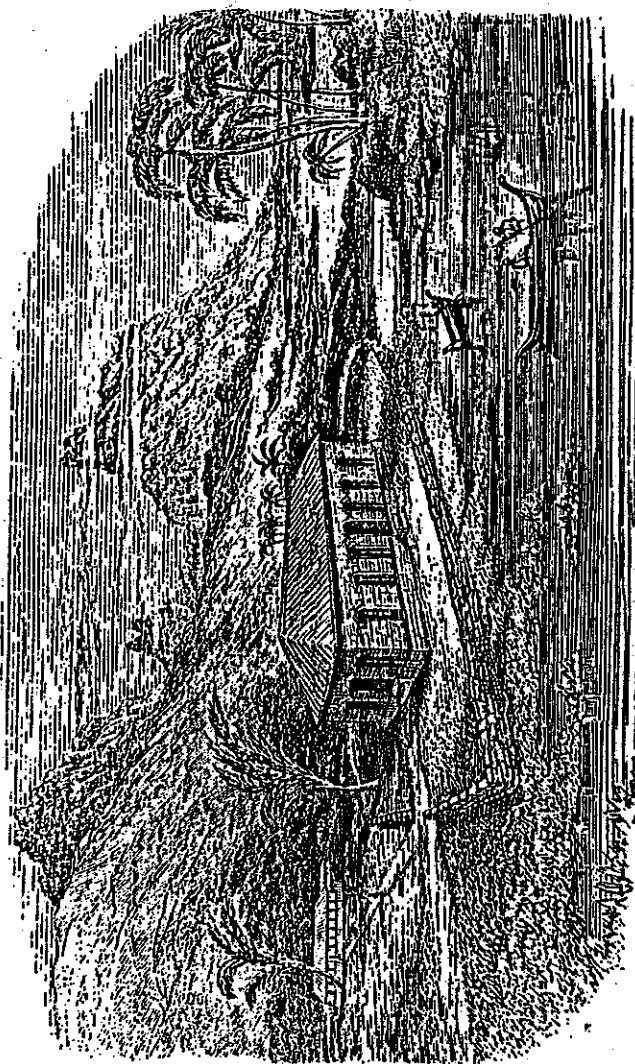
children, have occasionally suffered severe privations.

He is, however, a pious, sensible, and laborious man. His colleague, I am sorry to say, fell into sin; and overcome probably by shame, put to sea in a canoe, and was never afterwards heard of.

Leaving Mitiaro, we sailed for

RAROTONGA,

where we arrived, after a pleasant sail of two days, and received a cordial welcome on the beach from our esteemed friend and brother, Mr. Buzacott, whose tearful eyes, and downcast look, intimated that they were in the furnace of affliction. This received confirmation from the appearance of the people; for instead of being greeted by the smiles and shouts of the thousands who lined the shore on our former visits, only a small company of children, and a few walking skeletons, who had exerted their utmost strength to reach the landing-place, were to be seen. On inquiring the cause of this, it was with the deepest sorrow we heard that a most dreadful and deadly disease was raging among the people, and sweeping them away as with a deluge; that at Mr. Buzacott's station about two hundred and fifty persons had been its victims; an equal or greater number at Arorangi; and about a hundred at Mr. Pitman's, where its ravages had but recently commenced. So prevalent was this terrible visitation that scarcely an inhabitant of the island entirely escaped its influence. The



MISSION SCHOOL-HOUSE, NGATANGILA, RAROTONGA.

GEMS
FROM
THE CORAL ISLANDS;

OR, INCIDENTS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN

Savage and Christian Life

OF THE

SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM GILL,

RAROTONGA.

VOL. II.

Eastern Polynesia:

COMPRISING

THE RAROTONGA GROUP,
PENRHYN ISLANDS, AND SAVAGE ISLAND.

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1866.



THE ISLAND OF ATIU.

CONTENTS.

Tahitian natives driven to Atiu in a storm—The island discovered in 1777—First missionary visit, 1822—Trials of the native teachers—Progress of the mission—Papohia visits the island—Rev. E. Krauss resides among the people—Incidents of his landing—Illness of M. Krauss—State of mission in 1843—The Rev. H. Boyle's visit to the island—His labours—His trials and persecution—State of the people in 1845—Romantic tale of a beathen voyager—New chapel opened in 1846—An account of "Eupa," the native pastor, on Atiu—Natives of Atiu employed in aiding the missionary cause—Conclusion.

In the year 1765 twenty natives of Tahiti embarked in a canoe to go to a neighbouring island; in doing so they were overtaken by a storm; the greater part of them perished at sea, but four were brought to the island of "Atiu," a distance of nearly 700 miles. These Tahitians were kindly received by the Atiuans; and when Captain Cook discovered the island in 1777 three of them were then living. This island is called "Wateoo" on most of the old charts, and is next in size and population to Aitutaki in this group. Captain Cook describes the people as being numerous for

so small an island, when he visited it, and says, that they were of a kind and obliging disposition. It must, however, be remembered, that he had on board a native of Tahiti, who could talk with the Atiuans, and who told them such terrific and extravagant tales about the power of the foreigners' guns to blow the island to atoms, that they did not on that occasion manifest their usual ferocious habit.

In 1822, forty-five years subsequent to Captain Cook's visit, the missionaries on Tahiti sent two Christian teachers to this island. These were received on shore by the heathen people, and their lives were spared, but, when visited, they were found to be in a most miserable condition; the natives had stripped them of every article of property, and they were suffering much from want and ill-treatment. This visit, however, was successful in giving correct information to the people respecting the object of the teacher's mission, and of leading to the overthrow of idolatry. A native from Aitutaki, who had embraced Christianity under the teachings of Papehia was on board, and had a long conversation with the chief of Atiu, explaining to him the wonders that had taken place on his own island since the people had burnt their idols, and had embraced the doctrines of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The chief and many of his people listened with much interest to these representations, and determined to give more heed to the "words" of their teacher than they had heretofore done. The chief was especially interested and instructed by an exposition of *Psalms* cxv. and *Isaiah* xlv. 9—20; and even with the small glimmering of light which he had then received, he expressed himself surprised that he and his people had been so long deceived by dumb and profitless gods of wood, and stones, and feathers. A Tahitian native teacher was left on the island, and, according to the best of his abilities and acquirements, he



"PAPEHIA." Page 8, 9, 223.

"ISAHIA," PAPEHIA'S SON.

instructed the people of Atiu in the doctrines of Christianity. A goodly number of them received the "word of life," and rejoiced in the salvation they had gained; good school-houses were erected, and were well attended by the greater number of the people and children, and an infant church was formed for the union and growth of those who were thought sincere in their professions of Christianity.

Occasional visits were made to this island by the missionaries of the Tahitian group, who, from time to time, were pleased with its progress under the superintendence of the native teachers. There were, however, evils, serious evils, existing on the island in connection with the civil and social life of the people, which were felt could not be overcome, only by a prolonged residence of a missionary; and as this could not be speedily gained, Papahia was appointed in 1836 to visit the station for the purpose of remaining there two or three years. During his stay he gave constant attention to everything connected with the progress and purity of the mission, and the people received the benefit of his experience, gained by long residence on the island of Rarotonga.

In 1842, the Rev. B. Krause was providentially brought to this island from Central America. Having a letter of introduction to the people from one of the missionaries in the Tahiti group, he landed on a part of the island where neither man nor vestige of habitation could be seen, and as the boat returned to the ship, he kneeled down on the lonely beach, and implored Divine guidance and blessing. After some time, a native youth came to the spot, to whom he gave the letter of introduction to the teacher and the people, which brought a goodly number of people to him from the settlement, who gave him a kind reception. But the circumstances of his landing were most unfavourable, and calculated to excite the suspicions of the people; the letter of introduc-

tion was thought to be authentic, but it was some time before they would give full credence to his being a thoroughly authorized missionary; and this, together with the positive evils among themselves which he set himself to reform, created a persecution that for some time retarded his success. This he was enabled in a great measure to overcome, and his labours were very useful both to the teacher and to the natives, but the illness of his wife compelled him to leave the island before his plans had had their full effect on the population, which was much regretted.

We first visited Atiu in 1843, and on landing, several hundreds of the natives came from the principal village to give us welcome. This village was situated on an eminence, and was about two miles in circumference, in the centre of which were built a large chapel and school-house. The chapel was an old building, and in bad repair, but it was well filled on every service during our stay. Copies of the New Testament, complete in their language, had been taken to the island about three years before, and we were gratified to find that the people had purchased copies with arrow-root, to the amount of *twenty-six pounds*, which sum was forwarded to the "British and Foreign Bible Society." The desire of these natives for the Word of God, and their intense delight in listening to its exposition, are facts of much interest and significance.

Walking through the village one evening, we saw a young man,—a silly, self-conceited Tahitian—who had just come to the island, and had induced the chief to have a *body-guard* of soldiers, after the manner of the French Governor and Queen Pomare, in Tahiti:—these soldiers were being drilled in military style; they were about fifty in number, and armed with long and short sticks, instead of guns and swords. The chief appeared much ashamed at our remarks

on this foolery, and said he had merely given his consent to it to please the young people.

Returning home from our walk, we met the deacons of the infant church on this island, and found that thirty-nine members had been admitted since its formation; five of whom had been suspended for improper conduct, and four had died; leaving thirty in communion. It was also an encouraging sight to see the children's school under the care of the native teachers. No fewer than 248 boys and 164 girls were present; about a quarter of whom could read well.

During our stay on this visit to Atiu, it was our happiness to organize a "Juvenile Missionary Association," to aid, by annual contributions of arrowroot, the missionary subscriptions of the island. The teachers and children entered with spirit into the thing, and they have ever since done good service in this department.

A general view of this small out-station may be gained from the following figures. It is a reef-bound coast island, not more than twelve miles in circumference; its population of 1000 persons is divided into three clans, who for the most part live in one settlement; thirty members were in church-communion in the year 1843; 150 adults attended schools, and 410 children were under daily instruction.

The next missionary visits to this island were made by Rev. H. Royle, of Aitutaki, who has frequently remained many months at a time with the people. During his first visits he had to endure much opposition and persecution from a disaffected party who were strong in number and influence, and from whom he had to experience many annoyances both in his own house, in the village, and in the schools. A code of civil laws had been adopted, but was too feebly enforced to secure general order, and justice to the community. The

very doubtful character of the chief also, at the time, together with that of many of the native police, rendered it almost impossible to bring the perpetrators of crime to punishment. As a specimen of the outrageous conduct of some of this party, towards the missionary, we might state, that one Saturday night some of them secretly entered the chapel, and covered the bottom of the pulpit, ankle deep, in mud and filth. This was not discovered until Mr. Royle had fully entered the pulpit, on Sabbath morning; and doubtless there were some of the miscreants in the chapel, expecting to be gratified by a public disturbance of the service, but in which they were most provokingly disappointed by the quiet, patient forbearance of the missionary, who conducted the whole of the morning's worship standing in "the mire," without uttering one word of reference to the indignity. The moral effect of this forbearance on the hearts and opinions, even of the ungodly, was most beneficial and lasting, and hastened a triumph for Christ and his gospel which never could have been gained by any act of retaliation, however merited, or of punishment, however just.

My second visit to this station was in a voyage on board the "John Williams," in 1845, and we were pleased to find that the native teacher left here by Mr. Royle had been much prospered in his work. The schools were well attended, and the whole population were more enlightened and mild than we had seen them before. An interesting service was held in the chapel; a sermon was preached from *John* xiii. 34—Christ's love our joy and example; after which eighteen members were admitted to the church, who with their brethren commemorated the love of Jesus by partaking together of the emblems of His death.

We were accompanied on this visit by one or two elderly natives from Rarotonga, and on the evening after the above service we and they were walking on the cliffs, looking

across the wide extending sea, when these old men from Rarotonga entered into conversation with some old men of Atiu, and both parties became much animated as they talked about incidents connected with their former heathen life, and praised God, who had spared them to meet "*i roto i tona aroa*," in his love. Numerous deeds of fame done by ancient heroes were spoken of, and desires expressed that they had lived to see these gospel times. One account was concerning a man who had conceived a desire to voyage to other lands; a thing quite novel to the condition of the people of that time; he built himself a large double canoe, and succeeded in visiting most of the islands of the Hervey group, and returned to his own island in safety. During the remainder of his life he was deified by his fellow-countrymen; and his spirit continued to be worshipped after his death. His head was preserved for many generations, by a process of embalming, and all natives, in after times, voyaging to any distance, were only safe or successful as they paid homage to it.

On our way to Samoa, July 1846, we again called at Atiu, and were pleased to find that the people had built a new chapel, which, considering their limited means, was a most wonderful achievement. The settlement being some distance from the shore, lime was scarce, but in order to make up the deficiency, the people had cut down large "*tamunu*" trees, which they had dragged to the site of building, some of which were twenty feet long, two feet thick, and six feet wide—these were placed round the building, at a distance of six feet apart, and it was calculated that not less than 3200 cubic feet of this beautiful wood, which much resembles mahogany, were in the walls, and more than a thousand cubic feet of the same used in the floors. The workmanship was neither fine nor ornamental, but the strength of the building was well secured.

As this "are pure anga," house of prayer, was nearly finished, the people made arrangements to have it opened during our stay; and the services held on the occasion were of deep interest—nearly the whole population came together; two sermons were preached; one from *Revelations* xxi. 3, The dwelling of God with men on the earth; and the other from 1 *Timothy* ii. 5, *One* God, and *one* Mediator: eight members were admitted to the church, and the communion of the Lord's supper was commemorated. Many of the old people, who had been the first to receive the gospel on the island, had died, but it was pleasing to see a goodly number of young people rising up to occupy their places, alike in the civil duties of the island, and in the labours of the church of Christ.

It cannot fail to interest and delight the friends of missions, to know the history of the present *native teacher* who has charge of the island of Atiu. The reader will remember that, in our account of Rarotonga, we had occasion to notice the removal of "Tapaeru" from that island, to Aitutaki, by the captain and crew who had caused so much trouble there. Tapaeru, at the time, was a heathen woman, and was landed about the year 1820, among the heathen people of Aitutaki. Her rank introduced her to the families of the chiefs, to one of whom she became wife. "Rupe," her son, was born just about the time "Papohia's" mission of mercy was received by the people; and it was his privilege to receive instruction in his childhood, which introduced him into the blessing of the new dispensation. On the return of Tapaeru to Rarotonga, "Rupe" remained with his father, on Aitutaki. When the Rev. H. Royle took up his abode there, this lad was among the most active and intelligent of his generation. He early attached himself to the missionary, and gave evidence of his having some "good thing in his heart towards the Lord God of Israel." He continued to grow

in stature and in grace, and after having devoted himself some time to the interests of religion on his own island, he was sent for further education to the Institution, Rarotonga, with a view to the ministry. Here he made great proficiency; and in 1846, he was located at "Arorangi," where he discharged the duties of the station with diligence and success; and thence was removed to the island of Atiu, as the teacher of the people, and pastor of the church. Thus in this, as in many other instances, we see the children of those who were instrumental in the overthrow of idolatry, and of establishing Christianity on the islands, are now raised up to be our helpers in the mission; yea, beyond this, they are raised up to occupy positions in the mission that makes this native agency essential to its very existence,—an agency at once the fruit, the reward, and the glory of our labours.

Another illustration of this is most emphatically afforded in the fact, that "Atiu" itself, where no European missionary has ever had a permanent residence, has sent out its quota of aid in this work. Besides sustaining all expenses connected with its island home affairs, and contributing to the funds of the Parent Society in England, it has also supplied *men*; one of whom, "Katuki," has been for some time, and still continues to be, one of the most laborious, consistent, and efficient native evangelists on the island of Mangaia; and in 1852, Mr. Royle had under his care seven pious young men from Atiu, who were candidates for the Institution, Rarotonga, with a view of devoting themselves to the work of preaching the gospel, either to the people of their own islands, or to those afar off in heathenism. Speaking of the present position of the mission at this outstation, Mr. Royle says, that during his four months' visit there, he admitted *ninety-five* members to the church, who were selected from a numerous band of intelligent inquirers

of *some years' standing*; a large and commodious school-house was just completed; and at the Sabbath services the congregations were overflowing. Thus, he continues, it is our unspeakable happiness to report, that, on every aspect of the mission, *progress* is written in legible characters. We record this with profound gratitude to God, and ascribe ALL TO HIS ABUNDING POWER AND GRACE.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
SAVAGE LIFE IN POLYNESIA;

WITH
ILLUSTRATIVE CLAN SONGS.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM WYATT GILL, B.A.,
AUTHOR OF "MYTHS AND SONGS FROM THE SOUTH PACIFIC."

WELLINGTON,
GEORGE DIDSBURY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.
—
1880.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CAPTAIN COOK'S VISIT TO ATIU.

THE island of Atiu, called "Wateooo" by Cook, lies a hundred and twenty miles north of Mangaia. These are the twin islands of the Hervey Group, being nearly alike in height, shape, extent, geological formation, and products. It is remarkable that the great navigator, in sailing from New Zealand, should discover in succession Mangaia, Atiu, Takutea (spelt "Otakootaia" in the "Voyages"), Manuae, or Hervey's Island, and, lastly, Palmerston's Island, and yet miss the only two rich and fertile islands of the group (Rarotonga and Aitutaki), possessed of harbours and capable of furnishing all the supplies urgently needed by the "Resolution" and "Discovery." During a recent visit to Atiu I inquired of some aged men what their fathers, who had seen Captain Cook, had told them of the first visit of white men to their rugged coral shores. Their verbal account agreed well with the printed narrative, with a few additional particulars.

Atiu was sighted March 31st, 1777. On the following day Lieutenant Gore, of the "Discovery," landed on the southern shore at an indenture in the reef called "Orovaru," which the natives pointed out to me. Thence the visitors were conducted to the interior by a passable road, and all honor shown to them. That the people would have forcibly detained their wondrously fair-skinned friends but for the extravagant statements given by Mai (Omai, the interpreter) of the prowess of Europeans, and the effect of firearms, is certain.

The natives of Atiu pretended to be greatly surprised at the question whether they ever ate human flesh. Many now living have confessed to me that they had often gorged themselves therewith. A native of the neighbouring island of Mauke told me that in 1819 most of his countrymen were slain and devoured by the victorious Atiuans. The people of Mitiana were similarly treated by the "neck-faced Atiuans," as they amusingly nickname themselves.

Originally there was but one chief on Atiu. At the period of Cook's visit there were two possessed of equal authority—viz., Tiaputa and Tangapatolo.

Captain Cook did not go ashore himself. On Lieutenant Gore's landing, the chiefs asked him, amongst other things, "Are you one of the glorious sons of Tetumu? Are you a son of the Great Root or Cause, whose children are half divine, half human?" According to their mythology, Tetumu was the father of gods and men, and the maker of all things. The white complexion of the visitors, their wonderful clothing and weapons, all indicated, in their opinion, a divine origin. To these inquiries no reply was given; in all probability they were unintelligible to Mai as well as to Lieutenant Gore.

On that memorable day the strangers were the guests of Tiaputa, who ordered the dances and other amusements in honor of the occasion. The *kava*-drinking, the nectar of the Polynesian gods, and the feasting were extravagant. Forty pigs, mostly small, were cooked and presented to their visitors, who were led to the *marae*, where a sort of worship was paid to them as the favoured children of Tetumu.

The Atiuans maintain that the ships were four days off their island, whereas the "Voyages" seemingly give an account of the transactions of a single day. But if we recollect that the uninhabited islet of Takutea (where Cook took in a supply of coconuts, &c.) is regarded by the Atiuans as an integral portion of their own territory, only separated from the main island by a narrow channel of fourteen miles, the discrepancy vanishes. Atiu was sighted March 31st, and sail was finally made from Takutea April 3rd, proving the correctness of the native tradition.

A curious heathen prophecy¹ was known to these islanders previous to the discovery of Atiu by Captain Cook. A god named "Tanè-mei-tai" — "Tanè-out-of-the-ocean" — would some day visit their shores. This new divinity would speak a strange language, would introduce strange articles and customs, and would ill-treat the natives. This oracle was at once applied to their illustrious visitors, so that no little distrust and fear

¹ The old men of Rarotonga invariably apply to Christianity the following ancient oracle: "Yonder are the children of God, floating over the ocean like birds on drift coconut fronds—some are in advance, and others are following!"

mingled with the pleasure of seeing "Tute." "Tanè" was regarded as one of the "glorious sons of Tetumu." Hence the appropriateness of the question proposed to Lieutenant Goro upon his arrival.

For the first time they now became acquainted with the existence of a race entirely different from their own. Many were the gifts bestowed upon these islanders in return for their hospitality, such as beads, iron nails, knives, strips of cloth, and several iron axes, exactly corresponding with that given to Kiri-kovi, the warrior chief of Mangaia, a few days before. The crowning present of all was Ma's dog, the first ever seen in the Hervey Group.

Captain Cook expresses his astonishment at their "incredible ignorance" in making the "strange mistake" of calling the sheep and goats on board the "Resolution" "birds." The word actually used by them was "manu," which means any living thing moving on the earth or through the air. The term is frequently applied to human beings, so that the Atiuans were strictly correct.

It is much to be regretted that the great navigator and his officers never gave them a hint as to the existence of the One living and true God. It was not until forty-six years after that the Gospel was introduced to Atiu by the martyr of Bromanga. The idols so long cherished and worshipped, as visible representations of the invisible and glorious sons of the unworshipped Tetumu, were speedily given up. Some were burnt; others are now, and long have been, in the museum of the London Missionary Society. Amongst the latter is the famous Terongo, to whose *marae* the guests were taken.

Atiu is said to be the name of the first man on the island. A singular myth is related in reference to this Adam of Atiu. A pigeon, the pet bird of Tangarua, sped hither from spirit-land, and rested awhile in a grotto still known as "the Pigeon's Fountain." Big drops of water kept falling from the stony roof, producing little eddies in the transparent water beneath. As the pigeon was refreshing itself by sipping the cool liquid, it noticed a female shadow of great beauty in the fountain. Now the pigeon of Tangarua was in reality one of the gods, and therefore readily embraced the lovely shadow, and then returned to its home in nether-land. The child thus originated was named

"Atiu"—"First-fruit," or "Eldest-born"—and from him the island derives its name. It was on this account that "they dignified their island with the appellation of 'A Land of Gods,' esteeming themselves a sort of divinities, and possessed with the spirit of the gods."

The double canoes of Atiu are usually fifty feet in length, provided with a mast and mat sails. The cordage is made of the bark of the lemon hibiscus. As many as a hundred and fifty men, women, and children are often accommodated on board one of these primitive vessels. In launching them, one may still hear the following song referring to Captain Cook's visit to Atiu. It was composed somewhere about the year 1780:—

ATIUAN CANOE SONG.

Solo.	Solo.
Tuku ake au e Tahiti Nui, O ariua, O Tu-papa, O Tangarua, Mae ā, kua oti.	I sail to Great! Tahiti; O ye divine Tu and Tangarua, Be propitious, and I am off.
Chorus.	Chorus.
Reti ā!	Tug away.
Solo.	Solo.
E to tupu ā, kua oti.	Friends, 'tis done.
Chorus.	Chorus.
Reti ā!	Tug away.
Solo.	Solo.
Tangi mai to pupui, to pupui, To pupui iea? To pupui i toimaa ā! I toimaa iea? I to toimaa i nga tamariki. Tuoro mai i to pai o Tute ra ā! Ritana.	Hark! the guns, the guns are firing. What are these "puffers"? Terrible weapons. Whom do they terrify? The whole of the people, calling That Cook's vessels have arrived. Tug away.
Chorus.	Chorus.
Ae, ritana, ritana!	Aye; tug, tug away.
Solo.	Solo.
Tuoro, tuoro atu iea? Tuoro atu i to kiato maa ia Otu, Tangi mai i to tangotango, Taku rakau iei apitia; Moi ia tauao to vaka ā! Tava! to ruā!	To whom do these guns speak? To the offspring of divine Tu, Startling even the spirit-world. Ah! the sleepers are slipping; The canoes are upsetting! Right her.
Chorus.	Chorus.
Tava! to ruā!	Right her!

¹ To the native mind there are two Tahitis, the Greater and the Lesser, united by a narrow isthmus. The latter is now commonly known as Tairarua.

Solo.

Tāvai to rā i to rākau, kō mea ra
Ko vaka, o taurekareka, o pai tāia.

Ononus.

Aea, o pai ō!

Solo.

Steady her—all of you,
Our noble ship is afloat.

Ononus.

Bravo, ship!

In examining the best charts of the Pacific, it is puzzling to the novice to find that in very many instances two, three, or even four positions are given for a single island or reef, owing to the unskilfulness of observers. But it is no slight praise to our great navigator, Cook, that the positions of islands laid down by him remain unaltered to this day.



GEORGE BENNET ESQ.

Engraved by J. H. COLEMAN, Esq., from a portrait by J. H. COLEMAN, Esq.

JOURNAL OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

BY THE
REV. DANIEL TYERMAN AND GEORGE BENNET, Esq.

DERIVED FROM THE
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

TO VISIT THEIR VARIOUS STATIONS
IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS, CHINA, INDIA, &c.,
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1821 AND 1829.

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
BY JAMES MONTGOMERY.

VOL. II.

"Glorify ye the name of the Lord God of Israel in the Isles of the sea.—From the utter-
most part of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the righteous."
ISAIAH XLII. 10, 11.

LONDON:
FREDERICK WESTLEY AND A. H. DAVIS,
Booksellers to the London Missionary Society,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT AND AVE MARIA LANE.

robbed, and driven away by ill usage, an epidemical disease had broken out in the island, which swept away nearly one in twelve of the whole population. Ascribing this plague to the vengeance of the God of the strangers, they carried the property which they had taken from them and threw it into the Po, a deep cavern in one of the mountains, which was the common sepulchre of their dead; and further determined never again to behave with brutal inhospitality towards friendly visitors. Providentially, some copies of portions of the Tahitian Scriptures had been preserved, which were now restored to the new Missionaries, and with those which they had themselves brought thither became useful school-books. The lessons of these they taught so successfully that already a considerable change for the better had been effected in the manners of the people at large, and about a hundred and twenty converts had joined their instructors, in Christian fellowship. These were easily distinguishable by their improved personal appearance in dress and demeanour; as well as manifestly exalted in domestic society, by learning to construct more comfortable dwellings, to manufacture better cloth, and superior implements of husbandry and fishing. Many of them had also learned to spell and to read. The island aforesaid had been subject to frequent famines, which had exceedingly thinned the population. These, indeed, were judgments brought upon themselves, in a great measure, by their idleness and improvidence; and scarcely less by their malignant dispositions, which prevented the increase of the supply of provisions; for if a man planted a number of bread-fruit trees, that promised to enrich him, his envious neighbours would wantonly pull them up; and he who went to sleep at night under their shadow might awake in the morning amidst their uprooted trunks.

David and Tere, by introducing to their acquaintance several new sorts of native food (of which it seems the people had been stupidly ignorant before) taught them how to profit by those neglected bounties of Providence, which, had they been swine or dogs, they would have instinctively found out, if good for sustenance. Tere had died in the interval, but David was continuing the good work which his deceased brother and he had begun. Thus, by native teachers alone (for, till Mr. Bourne's visit, not a white man had ever stepped upon that shore), religion, morality, agriculture, boat and house-building, manufactures, &c.—all that the temporal and spiritual wants of a whole nation required—were more advanced in sixteen months than the same had been in all the centuries which had elapsed before. When Mr. Bourne landed, the astonishment of the simple inhabitants at his personal appearance was very remarkable; they laid hold of his hands, and examined curiously, to see whether they were verily made of flesh and blood. When, to gratify their curiosity, he turned up his sleeve, they were startled at the whiteness of his skin, and one of them cried out that he must be a great king, or he never would have been of that complexion.]

June 19. This day we arrived at Atui, another of the Harvey group, where teachers had been placed some time ago. Here the first intelligence communicated to us was that the whole population had renounced their idols, and built a large chapel. The circumstances of this change were peculiar. Some time ago a vessel, belonging to Raiatea, with five natives on board, had been sent on an errand to us at Tahiti; but, since the time when they had set sail on their return, no intelligence concerning them had ever reached the relatives of the small crew. The conclusion was that they must have perished at sea. To-day, as a

canoe approached our vessel, we observed that the rowers, especially the helmsman, exhibited tokens of the highest delight at the view of our ship. When they came on board, the helmsman was immediately recognized, and he and his companions proved to be the very crew of the missing boat from Raiatea. They said that, on their return to Tahiti, being off Eimeo, night came on, when they fastened up their sails, and went to sleep in fearless security, leaving the boat to the mercy of the waves till morning, expecting then to be able, as usual, to direct their course homeward by known sea-marks. When they awoke, however, they found themselves involved in a thick fog, which turned to pouring rain, and was followed by a violent wind that drove them utterly beyond their reckoning. Six weeks were they floating, they knew not whither, on the pathless and fathomless deep, in which at length there was no other prospect, so far as man could calculate, but that they must be finally ingulphed; yet their faith never failed, and the simplicity as well as the strength of that faith was very striking, for when we asked them, if, in their forlorn situation, they did not expect to perish of famine, or to be drowned in the ocean, they replied, "Oh, no! for we prayed to God!" When first carried away, they had with them a quantity of vi-apples, cocon-nuts, bananas, a little water, and two bamboos (about a gallon and a half) of cocon-nut oil. On these, by taking only a small portion twice a day, they subsisted five weeks, when the solid food being all exhausted, and every drop of water long ago spent, they kept life in them by dipping a few fibres of the cocon-nut husk in the oil, and masticating these between their teeth, to extort the slight nourishment, and moisten their mouths, parched with tormenting thirst. Thus, morning, noon, and night, as long as they

were able, they worked at the oars, prayed, and sang; they read the Scriptures as the daily bread of their souls, and duly remembered the Sabbaths. It was very affecting to hear one of them say how, amidst the roaring of the sea, they sang till their "*voices went away*." Yes, truly, but it was "*into heaven*" that their voices went away, as those of the angels who sang "*glory to God in the highest*," at the nativity of the Redeemer:—their prayers of faith, and their songs of thanksgiving, were heard before the throne, even when their lips had no longer power to utter them,—and they were answered by deliverance. At the end of six weeks they were drifted, by the millions of waves on which they had been borne, to a motu near this island of Atui, where some of the natives found them, worn to skeletons with hunger, and strengthless with fatigue, but "*rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation*." By these they were fed and nursed, and, as soon as they could bear it, removed to Atui, where they gradually recovered health, and afterwards preached the gospel with such power that the remaining half of the population, till then unconverted, believed and cast away their idols.

At Atui we left two native Missionaries, Fraide and Tubu, with their wives and two children. These are destined for Manti and Mitlaro, two islands which we were prevented from touching at by a storm on the days previous to our arrival at Manala.

June 18. We left Atui and stood for Rarotonga, another island of the same group, where the gospel has been planted, as in Manala and Atui, by native teachers, and where it has flourished more than in either of the former. The people are building a chapel six hundred feet in length, which was half finished when we saw it. But a twelve-month ago, these were in the state in which we saw the

JOTTINGS FROM THE PACIFIC



BY
W. WYATT GILL, B.A.

AUTHOR OF "LIFE IN THE SOUTHERN ISLES"

JOINT AUTHOR OF "WORK AND ADVENTURE IN NEW GUINEA"

WITH SIXTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

25, PATERNOSTER ROW, 25, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

1885

CHAPTER V.

A SUNDAY AT ATIU.

An irregular mass of uplifted coral appeared above the Pacific as we sailed in the John Williams from Mitiaro on Saturday, September 13th, 1879. The land rose higher and higher as we approached it, until it was 400 feet above the level of the sea. A long line of snowy breakers now came in sight. Towards the south the billows were dashing with awful fury upon the natural breakwater of coral. On the farther side of the narrow fringing reef the dead coral was everywhere worn into long gullies and weird caverns. In the distance clay hills were sparsely dotted with coconut palms. The most conspicuous object on the central hill is the church, which can be distinctly seen many miles out at sea.

The island of Atiu is a geological counterpart of Mangaia, from which it is distant 120 miles. Atiu is fifteen miles in circumference. It was discovered in 1777 by Captain Cook during his third voyage, and entered by him on the charts as 'Wateoo.'

We sailed nearly round the island to the landing-place. Everywhere near the sea grew the tall, graceful *Casuarina equisetifolia*, closely allied to the she-bak of



THE ISLAND OF ATIU.

Australia, and which alone furnished the weapons of war in the olden time.

A boat was soon lowered and our party landed on the rugged reef, numerous natives gladly helping to carry the various packages beyond the reach of the tide. As soon as we stood on the narrow sandy beach, a crowd of pleasant brown faces came to greet us and to escort us inland. I was offered a horse—there were eleven of them—but much preferred to walk. One of the first to shake hands with us was Iru, the native minister, about to retire from active service. My special object in visiting Atiu was to instal his successor, who is a native of the island.

The population of Atiu is 900, subject to three chiefs of equal authority, and living in a village built on the high table-

land in the centre of the island. The road to the village is an almost continuous ascent of two miles. At first it was very rugged, running over limestone rocks. Wherever there was a little soil, tropical forest trees of many kinds reared their lofty heads. The rocks which here and there cropped up to a considerable height were gracefully draped with wild vines, convolvulus, or *Abrus precatorius*. The stately *Hernandia peltata*—a species of laurel, with its dark glossy leaves and bell-like flowers, finely contrasted with the white-leaved candle-nut tree. Here and there the magnificent *Barringtonia speciosa* extended its gigantic arms in all directions. As tall as any of them stood the coral-tree, covered with scarlet flowers. The gaudy blossoms of the lemon hibiscus diversified the scene. Nor were the cries and songs of birds wanting. The bright-plumaged wood-pecker was hopping from branch to branch. Two species of pigeon, a sort of linnut, snipe, with some sea-birds were occasionally seen and heard. After strolling about a mile in this pleasant fashion, we emerged upon the open country, and saw the taro and other plantations of the natives. This part of the island is significantly called 'the land.' But everything here had a dried-up appearance, no rain having fallen for months.

Our road now lay over hills of red clay, scantily covered with fern and guava bush, introduced for the sake of its fruit. As we neared the village a view of exceeding beauty burst upon us; the ocean, a dense forest, a lake, numerous valleys with little hollows well planted with bread-fruit and chestnut trees, plantains, bananas, sweet potatoes, and pine-apples.

The village itself is irregular and dirty. The homes

of the common people are more hovels. Amid all this stood out their well-built stone church (120 feet by 50), and the houses of two of the chiefs, who, with Makea of Rarotonga, came outside the village kindly to welcome us. It is not very often that the wife and child of the missionary accompany him on the annual visit of inspection. We went first to the native pastor's dwelling, which is built at the head of a valley. As, however, Ru was on the wing, we accepted the hospitality of Rongotini, and were the first to sleep in his grand new house, which cost £600, besides labour and food for the workmen. The house is two-storied, substantially built of wood, with a verandah and a balcony running all round, and a well-shingled roof. It is nicely finished off with doors and glass windows, and is furnished throughout in European fashion. The premises—some two acres in extent—are enclosed with a stone wall. The chief is his own architect. A European might possibly finish off the ornamental parts in better style, because possessed of better tools; still, I think the general plan and execution could not be improved. The house was three years in building. Roma-Tai's house is a copy of this, and is proving equally expensive.

A substantial tea was laid out for us; Rongotini and his wife (who is, in her own right, sovereign of the northern part of Rarotonga) chatting pleasantly with us. Yet, native-like, they refused to eat with us. In fact, they prefer to live in a spacious native hut just by, squatting down on fine mats spread over dried fragrant grass.

Rongotini is a fine portly fellow of about fifty. He is every inch a chief. When he speaks, it is with great

decision and authority. His father, like all the Atiuan warriors of that day, was a cannibal, the subject islands Mitiaro and Mauke furnishing sport and victims in abundance. Captain Cook certainly thought well of these islanders; to his interpreter Mat (the 'Omai' of the *Voyages*) they denied that they ever ate human flesh. This craftiness of disposition is well expressed in their own satirical designation, *meek-faced Atiuans*, or literally, *woman-faced Atiuans*.

A word about these subject islands. Twenty-seven miles E. by N. of Atiu lies the barren *atoll* of Mitiaro; fifty-five miles E. by S. lies the fertile little island of Mauke, only forty feet above the level of the sea. The tripartite division of lands and chieftainship obtains throughout all three islands. Large double canoes are continually going to these outlying islands and back. As an instance of the long sight of these islanders, I may mention what greatly surprised us, viz., the John Williams, a barque of only 200 tons, was sighted from the village at Atiu when we were lying off Mitiaro, a distance of twenty-seven miles. To them this did not seem extraordinary at all.

About 400 visitors were on Atiu at the time of our visit, on account of a feast given by Rongotini at the completion of his new house. Despite the scarcity of food, the feast came off the day previous to our arrival. Seventy large hogs were killed, besides great quantities of biscuits and bread baked for the occasion by a Chinaman. A vessel had been chartered to bring visitors from Rarotonga, Mauke, and Mitiaro.

The whole of Saturday evening was occupied in a meeting of the deacons of the Church, with reference to the removal of their old pastor and their acceptance

of his successor, who had just completed his term of study at the Institution at Rarotonga.

Long before daylight of Sabbath morning the wooden gong roused up everybody from sleep. At dawn I attended a prayer meeting in the great church. About five hundred were present. Itio, who has laboured in this group without a stain for thirty-four years, conducted the service. It lasted about an hour.

The full morning service fell to me. The long building was densely crowded (it has no gallery) from end to end. About 1,200 must have been present. The greatest decorum was observed; and close attention was given to all that was said. The congregation was neatly dressed in Manchester goods. The women always wear loose flowing dresses. It required, however, a considerable effort to make oneself heard distinctly. The roof had lately been shingled at a cost of £160, all defrayed by themselves. The church is nicely pewed throughout. In that morning's congregation were ten chiefs. It was an excellent opportunity to impress upon chiefs and commoners the requirements of the Gospel upon the hearts and lives of all who name the name of Christ.

On getting out of the pulpit I was erroneously informed that the barque was waiting for us at the edge of the reef. So off we hurried to the beach, but no John Williams was in sight. There was, however, a schooner, which doubtless originated the mistake. A tremendous rain-storm now set in, so that we were glad to take shelter in a deserted hut just by, and remained there some hours hoping for a change in the weather. We held a service meanwhile. At last we made our way back to the village drenched to the skin.

We were in a sorry plight, being bespattered all over with red clay. The natives playfully said that we had met with our deserts for having left their afternoon service, which it was understood that I should conduct. We were glad that night to retire early to rest. Next day proving fine, despite a rough sea, we got off safely, and sailed for Rarotonga.

The population of Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro, is 1610. Three native pastors care for the spiritual interests of the people, preaching on Sundays and officiating as schoolmasters on week days. Each Church supports its own pastor, besides making a small annual subscription to the London Missionary Society. The main work of the white missionary is to educate, induct, or remove, if any sufficient cause should arise; in a word, he is their spiritual adviser and superintendent. Christianity was introduced to these islands in 1823.¹ But it must not be imagined that

¹ By the Rev. J. Williams, who was afterwards slain and eaten on Erromanga. The people of Atiu resolved to attack and take the little mission vessel. But Roma-Tano, the leading chief of that day, was so astonished at the big 'canoe' without outrigger or paddles moving at its will over the ocean, that he prevented the execution of the plan by uttering the following poetical words, now become proverbial:—

Naul mai i karanga	By whose command shall an attack be made
E tapara! i te enua atua i raro?	On a race of gods from neither world?
E tungata te enua ngoru	Shall a race of weaklings
Ki te enua pakari te rave?	Dare to molest so wise a people?
Titiro ki te pai;	Look at you vessel;
E karo ki te tira;	Gaze at its masts;
E tini, e tini, makorekaro te taura.	At its multitudinous, innumerable ropes.

Roma-Tano became the warm friend of Mr. Williams, and a Christian. He destroyed the idols of the three islands.

Atiu is an island of saints. Very far indeed from that. Native pastors are altogether too lax in their ideas of Church government; and the chiefs are very despotic, continually trying to interfere in Church matters.

Atiu, like Mangaia, is famous for its limestone caverns; the largest of which is called Anataketake. To enter it, it is necessary to descend about twenty feet, through a chasm in the rocks, at the bottom of which are several majestic openings. Innumerable small birds breed in this cave. With the aid of flambeaux, it is possible to travel a mile underground amid the interminable windings of this vast temple of Nature. Water continually drips from the arched roof, which is from ten to fifteen feet thick, and is supported by superb columns of stalactite. From the glittering floor, which presents a wavy appearance, rise less attractive stalagmites. The fretwork ceiling sparkling in the light of torches is a sight never to be forgotten. A lake abounding in eels and shrimps occupies the centre. Until lately the caverns of Atiu and Mangaia were despoiled of their finest stalactite columns, in order to adorn the premises of the chiefs by keeping the snow-white sea pebbles in their place, much as at home we use ornamental tiles for gravelled walks. Anciently the *maraes* of their gods were invariably thus adorned.

The story of the discovery of the cave Anataketake is very romantic. A woman named Inutoto, being cruelly beaten by her husband, wished effectually to hide herself away. In looking about for a place of concealment, she came upon this wonderful cavern, and lived there in utter solitude for many years. She found no difficulty in sustaining life. Her now re-

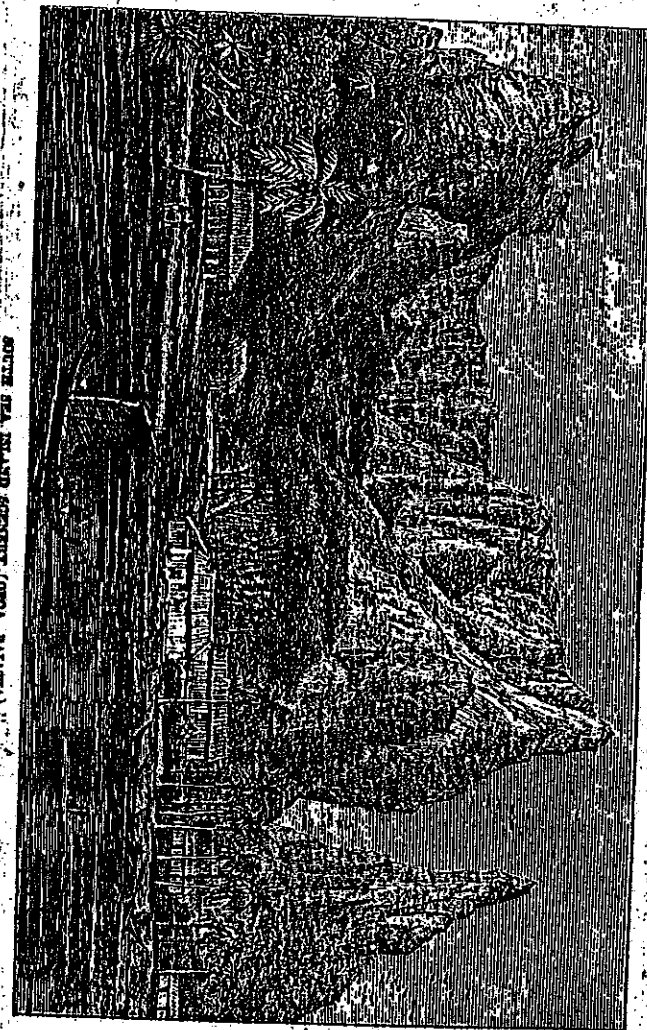
pentant husband sought for her in vain, and then mourned for her as dead. Eventually a man in chase of a bird—the woodpecker—discovered the cave and then the hermit, who was thus restored to her husband Paroro. Her song, composed in the cave, has been handed down by tradition, and is now lying before me.

CHAPTER VI.

MAUKE; OR, A REMNANT SAVED.

A FAT chief of Atiu, named Akaina, paid a visit to the island of Mauke—a distance of fifty-five miles. Canoes from Atiu first make Mitiaro, and after resting there awhile, start again for Mauke. For such voyages, instead of a single-canoe steadied by an outrigger, it is customary to fasten together two canoes and lay a deck across them. A mast is then set up; and with the aid of a large mat sail, plaited from the leaves of the pandanus, they rapidly skim the surface of the ocean. Guided by the stars only, these islanders have in this manner found their way from island to island from time immemorial. Occasionally, however, they are driven out of their course, and are either lost at sea or fetched up on some distant isle. It is in this way that the multitudinous islands of the Pacific have become populated.

On reaching the pretty island of Mauke, Akaina sent back his crew, himself remaining behind. The motive was a secret resolve to get possession of the wife of one of the chiefs. He succeeded in inducing the foolish woman to abandon her husband. The chagrined partner naturally resolved to be revenged.



SCENE ON MAUKE ISLAND (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)

He collected his friends one dark night, surrounded the dwelling of the renowned Atiuan warrior-chief, and killed him. That same night his body was cooked and eaten in revenge.

Quite a number of Akaina's countrymen happened to be living peacefully on Mauke under the protection of a chief named Tararo. None of these visitors were molested; but not long afterwards some of them found a pretext for sailing back to Atiu to tell the news of Akaina's fate. The 'meek-faced' Atiuans instantly resolved on vengeance. They had but recently returned from the extermination of the natives of Mitiaro. Eighty double-canoes were speedily equipped and sent to sea with all the warriors that the island could furnish. The designation of this second expedition was *ei tiki iuu*, i.e., to be avenged on the Mauke people 'for eating Akaina's fat.'

The little fleet touched at Mitiaro for refreshment and to pick up Nukuhiva, who willingly accompanied them. As soon as the invading fleet hove in sight, the inhabitants of Mauke knew (having heard of what had occurred on the sister island) that their fate was sealed. Although more than double the number of the exterminated Mitiaro people, they had not the courage to strike a blow at the invaders.¹ They at once abandoned their homes and run off in all directions, to hide themselves by twos and threes in caves and dense thickets. The first care of the invaders was to haul up their great double canoes out of the reach of the surf; the entire body of warriors then marched up into the interior and took possession of the forsaken dwellings and plantations of the doomed islanders.

¹ For which the Atiuans twist their descendants to this day.

Disappointed of a fight, it was arranged that a great man-hunt should come off on the following day. Accordingly at the appointed time, the invaders scattered themselves all over the island, peering into almost every crevice, and dashing into the densest thickets and dragging thence their trembling victims. These poor creatures were marched to the encampment and counted. They were then compelled to collect firewood and banana leaves, each party of two or three having to heat a separate oven, the conquerors meantime encircling them to prevent the possibility of escape. Bitter jibes and sarcasms were all the while lavished on their victims. When the stoves were red-hot, and the embers removed with many tears, the wretched captives were clubbed and cooked in those very ovens. A diabolical feast followed. Next day another hunt was made, and numerous new victims secured. All these, without distinction of age or sex, were treated in the same barbarous way as the first. Infants were snatched from their mothers' arms and brained, and then cooked with their parents! The spot where these atrocities were committed was pointed out to the writer. A huge block of *tamanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), or native mahogany, covered with deep indentations—on which the heads of many were chopped off—was shown as a proof of the hard service which the Evil One exacts from his subjects. In this way in the course of a few days the invaders nearly exterminated the original inhabitants of Mauke—a race confessedly sprung from themselves. After devouring all they could, a large quantity of this disgusting food remained. This was re-baked from time to time, and packed in baskets for their wives and children at Atiu.

When the surviving starvelings were assured that the invaders were gone, they emerged out of the most inaccessible caves into the light of day. Their first care was to bury the ghastly relics of their relatives, and then slowly rebuild the huts burnt down the day the invaders left.

But new troubles were preparing. Maiti, the leading man amongst the survivors, was exceedingly disgusted to find that Tararo had been appointed by the Atiuans sole ruler of Mauke, in place of the former chief; but, of course, subject to Roma-Tane. When the fugitives had in a great degree recovered their former physical strength, and completed their house-building, Maiti collected forty fighting men, and openly defied Tararo. In the ensuing fight Maiti lost his younger brother and ten of his men, but Tararo's party became utterly scattered. Tararo and his aged father fled to the principal *marae*—Tangiia-Nui, or Great Tangiia, in the vain hope of safety. Maiti and his surviving followers determined to desecrate the sacred grove by slaying the deputy-king of the Atiuans and his father. But Tararo, getting a glimpse of the advancing foe, nimbly climbed up one of the topmost branches of a magnificent chestnut, which is still pointed out. Like our own royal Charles, he was completely hidden from sight by the thick foliage. By this time the attacking party had encircled the house which Tararo had so recently left, but found only the father Tapokikiri sitting quietly at the doorway, under the shade of the sacred *tamanu* trees, awaiting his fate, being too

¹ 'Sacred' as overshadowing the *marae* of Tangiia-Nui. All trees on a *marae* are sacred; the sanctity originating in the god worshipped.

much of a warrior to run to save his life. He at once fell under their blows. They looked everywhere for Tararo; but he could nowhere be found. Some of them even looked up at the very chestnut tree in which he was hidden, but perceived only gigantic limbs covered with moss and ferns and a wondrous wealth of foliage. After a long and fruitless search, they returned to the interior.

At dusk Tararo betook himself to the rocks, where he long remained, subsisting as best he could upon wild fruits. One day he chanced to fall in with his near relative Kairae.¹ They agreed to live together in a cave, very difficult of access, the entrance to which was pointed out to me. Maiti and his party scoured the island to discover their hiding-place. On one occasion they came to the very cave where the fugitives were hiding. A long spear was thrust in at hazard, and nearly pierced Tararo. The spear was withdrawn, and the foe thinking they were not there, passed on, thus enabling them to breathe freely again. But one hope remained: could Kairae get to Atiu to tell Roma-Tane of Tararo's miserable state? The brave Kairae resolved to attempt it. As the wind was then fair for the projected voyage, Kairae the same night made his way to the sea-side, where he took possession of a tiny canoe. Alone he dragged it across the reef, launched it on the ocean, and without food or water dared to cross over to Mitiaro, a distance of thirty miles! (Many years later a grandson of this same man repeated this marvellous feat, in consequence of a bitter family quarrel.) By daylight the

¹ Kairae's son, named Yairatai, was still living in 1882. My friend is one of the most influential men on Mauke.

canoe was out of sight, so that the flight of Kairae was unsuspected. The adventurous voyager reached Mitiaro much exhausted. After obtaining a little rest and food there, he started again for Atiu—still alone in that little canoe!

Kairae's arrival set Atiu in a blaze of excitement. Roma-Tane ordered his warriors at once to get ready their double-canoes for a fresh descent upon Mauke. As soon as the wind veered round to the north, the little fleet put to sea.

In expectation of the arrival of the Atiuan warriors, Tararo had taken up his abode at the sea-side, hiding amongst the iron-wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) trees that grow most luxuriantly there. Occasionally he even ventured to climb one of the loftiest of them, to get the first glimpse of coming assistance. At last it came, to the dismay of Maiti and his followers.

As on the former occasion, not the slightest resistance was made. The invaders took possession of the deserted dwellings of Maiti and his clan, Tararo openly joining them. The entire party of Maiti was taken alive, and were leisurely slain, cooked, and eaten. But on this occasion, happily, the women and young children were spared. A few of the younger women were taken to Atiu by the invaders as wives. An aged woman told me that she was one of those who were compelled to go—in a canoe laden with the flesh of her countrymen!

Numbers of the invaders ultimately settled down on the fertile little island of Mauke. The stay of Roma-Tane this time was short. Tararo was again appointed deputy-chief.

A third expedition was subsequently planned by

Roma-Tane to kill off the children of those formerly slaughtered. But God had thoughts of mercy towards the poor remnant. In 1823 the Rev. J. Williams touched at Atiu; *his first convert there was this fierce Roma-Tane!* The ruthless conqueror and cannibal threw the entire weight of his authority in favour of Christianity. And thus the remnant was saved; for Roma-Tane remained consistent to the period of his death.

A native of Atiu named Katuke—whose father took part in the atrocities above referred to—became pious in early life, and subsequently a student for the ministry, and ever since 1844 has been the respected pastor of the village church at Ivirua on Mangaia.

By way of contrast with the preceding, I subjoin a notice of the first of my many visits to this pretty little island, which has never had a resident white missionary.

On June 13th, 1865, we set sail for Mauke, and on Friday, 16th, land was sighted by my companion the chief (who had never before been out of sight of his own island) long before it was visible to the keenest European eye. As we neared the land we were much pleased with its pretty appearance, although the island is low. It is a perfect level, about forty feet above the surface of the ocean, and sixteen miles in circumference. It lies 100 miles due N. of Mangaia. But it was very sad to observe how the hurricane of February 8th ult. had devastated the island.

Over night the people learnt that Gilirua was on board. At four o'clock A.M. of Saturday, the 17th, every man, woman and child turned out to weed the pathway from the beach to the village in the interior.

At eight o'clock we landed. The moment the boat touched the reef we were (four of us) hoisted up on to a rude sofa, secured by two long poles, each about thirty feet long. The fact was, all the able-bodied men on the island had resolved to give us a thorough welcome, and that we should *not* walk. At first I stoutly resisted; but finding this hopeless, I quietly submitted to be carried in state with my friends. But two serious obstacles interposed; two gigantic iron-wood trees lay across our path. A terrific cyclone uprooted them, and deposited them where they are likely to lie for many a year. In all directions the forest trees had been pulled up by the roots and hurled about in wild confusion. The sea must have risen thirty-six feet on that dreadful night. With a single exception, all their splendid canoes were swept away. Every building, including the church, the school-house, and the teacher's dwelling, was laid low. Food of every kind was destroyed. However, through Divine goodness, no life was lost on Mauke. Notwithstanding the damage sustained by the hurricane, the island is again verdant and beautiful. Food is, however, rather scarce at present, and it will be many years before the village will be as neat as it was formerly.

After a while we were safely deposited at the door of the teacher's house. The chiefs and deacons and Church-members now came to shake hands. Itio, the teacher, must have been pretty diligent, as he had rebuilt his own neat lath-and-plaster house (containing three large rooms) and the school-house, which serves as a temporary church. The church itself lies in ruins for the present; but even in desolation it is a wonderful piece of workmanship for natives possessed

of but few tools. The chiefs told me that, all being well, they hope to rebuild it next year. In the course of the day we were invited by one of the principal natives to go to his house and partake of a feast. We went, and found food enough for forty guests instead of four. On such occasions it is usual for the master of the house to appear in his *worst* clothes; after inviting you to be seated and to help yourself to the good things spread before you, he makes himself scarce. The women and servants, however, stay to fan the visitors. Meanwhile the people of Mauke were all crowding about, watching every movement of the strangers. A remark, a joke, is caught up, and repeated from mouth to mouth. Especially are they delighted to get a shake of the hand; they will go on shaking till the hand positively aches. At nightfall two large roast pigs were sent as a present to me. Not being competent to the task of devouring them, I gave one to the teacher, who has, I think, nine children, and the other I gave to the captain for his native crew.

After family worship I retired to bed, but not to sleep. The four-post bed was covered with neat mats. I drew my cloak over me, boots and all, but fleas and mosquitoes effectually banished sleep for a long while.

On the morning of the Sabbath a prayer-meeting was held. The chief who accompanied me conducted it with great propriety. I preached in the morning and afternoon. I fear that my addresses were rather long, but there were many things I wanted to say to them. It was a first meeting with these interesting islanders. The building was crowded. Every man, woman and child (in health) on the island was present,

as I suppose. The population of Mauke is 450 souls; of this number 201 are Church members. All profess Christianity and are under Christian instruction. Twenty-eight dollars were contributed to our Society by these people last May.

Considerable differences obtain between the dialects spoken in the various islands of this small group. At first I feared that they would not understand me, but in this I was agreeably mistaken; for when Itio detained the people at the conclusion of the morning service, and asked them what they knew of the discourse, they went through its principal points with great correctness, and even added some suitable Scripture illustrations of their own.

At the close of the services an aged Church-member introduced himself to me. He said that he well recollected their terrible wars in the days of heathenism, and had often partaken of *human flesh*. 'But,' added he, with tears streaming down his cheeks, 'the Gospel has brought to us peace and good-will and eternal life.'

On Monday morning they insisted on presenting us with a heap of cocoa-nuts and four small pigs, as a proof of their good-will and their joy at seeing the face of a white missionary. It grieved me to accept it, as I well knew to refuse their present on any pretext whatever would be counted a deliberate insult.

One pleasing custom I must mention. Another way of showing respect to guests is to crown them with chaplets of flowers. Each individual, on depositing his single cocoa-nut or bit of sugar-cane, put a wreath of flowers on the head of each visitor; so that at last we were nearly lost in the garlands that enveloped us.

We were much pleased with their schools. I exercised both girls and boys in arithmetic, and was delighted with their prompt and correct answers. These young people meet for an hour's teaching before going to work. Some are as young as three years, others are about twenty, each class being under the care of an intelligent teacher. I shall never forget the three pleasant days spent at this interesting island.

MARETU'S NARRATIVE OF COOK ISLANDS HISTORY

Translated by Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe

We reached Atiu on Friday but by Saturday we were still at sea and unable to go ashore because of strong easterly winds. A special communion service was held on Sunday, following that of the previous Sunday. On Monday we finally reached Atiu. The missionary /Gill/ and his wife, the captain, Katuke, Ngatae and thirty other people all went ashore. The captain bought some arrowroot starch powder for Saljioti /probably "Society", i.e. the London Missionary Society/ and landed it on board the ship. Two cases of Bibles were taken ashore to trade for arrowroot.

At this stage I became ill with dysentery and the first mate made me drink some salts which made me worse and I defecated terribly. On Thursday, the captain wrote to Gill telling him that I was very ill. Presently, messengers came to get my wife and I to go ashore that evening. Six of us went ashore and when the missionary and the captain saw me they said I was very ill indeed. Drums summoned members of the Ekalesia to the church service and a meeting. Gill said, "You stay home and watch that no one steals the Bibles". He shut both doors and went to the church. Soon, some people came and opened one of the doors. I covered my eyes when they called out. They took copies of the Bible and hid them in their clothing. They wouldn't sit down. I said, "What do you want?"

They replied with a touch of laughter, "We are members of the police. We have come to ask you our duties towards the law."

"The laws are sacred", I told them. "Those who administer the laws are also sacred because they are also of God. They cannot be two-faced: to the law as well as to theft. God won't help them." So they all sat down together beside the pile of Bibles, dropping the copy each had taken onto the pile. I spoke to them, then we prayed. When it was over they said, "Let us stay here in Atiu" /i.e. they were asking Maretu to stay with them/. Then they went outside.

Soon the missionary came. "Where have those people been?" he said. I told him that they came to steal some of the Bibles but that they had left them behind after they had asked me about the nature of the law. After I had told them about their responsibilities, each had dropped the Bible he had hidden in his clothes and left it behind. Gill said, "A number of Bibles

went missing yesterday after we had gone to evening service. We found this out on our return."

The captain arrived presently and Gill said to me, "You'll have to stay here because of your illness. When you are better, then you can go to Mangaia."

"I don't want to stay here. I want to come with you," I answered.

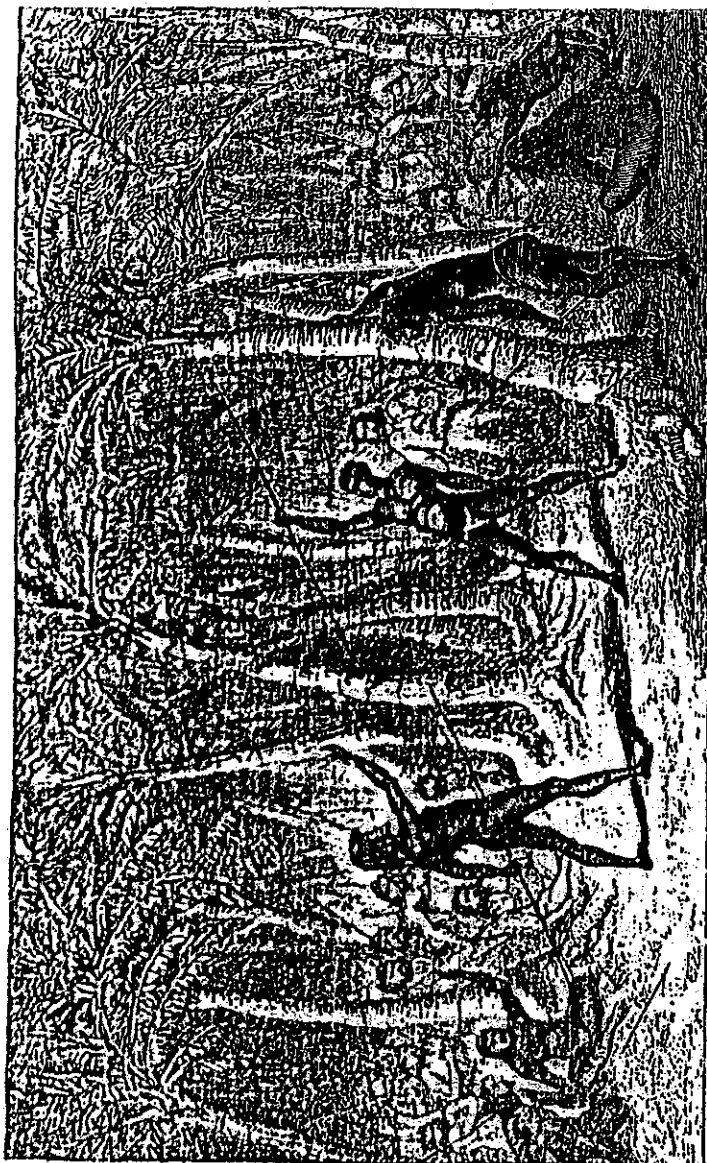
We went to sleep and at the first cockcrow I said to my wife, "Get up, let's go to the ship. My stomach is not as painful as before. Let's go."

My wife replied, "Won't you two argue on board?"

"We won't fight. Let's go anyway", said I. It took a long time to reach the harbour so that it was late morning when we got there. When Mr and Mrs Gill and the captain caught up to us we were already at the harbour. The first mate on board saw us and sent a boat ashore. Gill said to me, "You go now, Maretu". So we went on board. Later the boat returned to pick up the missionary and the captain. When they came on board we held a prayer meeting and then had breakfast.

The captain paid the people for the rest of the arrowroot, then we sailed for Mauke where Gill and the captain went ashore. They slept there and returned on board next morning. There was a shortage of food on board so the captain searched the ship for some. He found six barrels of yams in my cabin. "Who owns them?" he asked.

"Take them and cook them", I answered. The missionary then sent Rota ashore at Mauke to ask the deacons to give us some food. Five canoe-loads of green coconuts, bananas and taro were sent to the ship. We left for Mangaia that same Saturday, but strong winds forced our ship to take shelter off the reef passage at Atiu. Next morning, which was Sunday, the people found that we were back again and they brought cooked food and pork for us.



THE RIVAL CHIEFS.

WILD LIFE
AMONG
THE PACIFIC ISLANDERS.



BY

E. H. LAMONT, ESQ.

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HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
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15, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1867.

cook, a young girl of some seventeen or eighteen years of age. When supper-time came no cook was to be found, and it was at last discovered that the captain had carried her off to sea. The following morning, when the ship appeared off the landing-place (which should have been by daylight, as there was always cargo ready for her by that time, but the captain rarely had her up till nine or ten o'clock), some people were sent aboard to bring the girl back, but her fond admirer refused to restore her, and used violent language to the natives who had come for her. The king now imposed a fine of 10\$ on the girl for going aboard ship, stating, very properly, that if he had the captain ashore he would fine him instead, but, as he had no control over him at sea, he could not do so. I was at last compelled to go aboard myself, and had great difficulty in getting the girl out of the captain's drunken keeping, he having her locked up in his own state-room. I insisted also on his paying the fine, which, with a very bad grace, he gave me an order to do, and I placed the memorandum in my note-book.

Before leaving, I purchased one of the beautiful tomano wood canoes of this place, so justly celebrated for their light and graceful form, and an article of trade among the other islands. The king, governor, and some of the chief personages of the island, came on board in a large double canoe, to bid us a last farewell, and evinced much regret at parting.

Mitiaro, which we reached the following morning, is smaller than Mankè, and has probably been at no very distant period a lagoon island. Indeed, there is still a considerable pool or lake in the centre, and much of the interior is marshy and uninteresting. Its productions are arrowroot and live stock, with the usual island fruits.

Christianity was established at Atien without difficulty, and its progress has been uninterrupted. Like Mankè and

Mitiaro, it has a native missionary (I believe a Rorotongan), to look after its spiritual interests. The native teachers of one island are always sent to officiate to the hearers of another.

As at Mankè, the settlement was also in the centre of the island, and the church may be seen on a conspicuous elevation from ship-board, when a little distance off the land. The principal landing, as in the other islands, is on the west side, and, as any ship approaching can be seen from the central villages, there is generally a canoe standing out to meet you before you reach the landing-place, which may be known by an open space amongst the trees, with two conspicuous houses, used as the market-place. The people here are active traders, bringing everything from the interior, a distance of some three or four miles, and they will generally carry their goods back again rather than take what they consider below the fair value.

The country inland is more picturesque than that of either of the former two islands, rising gradually in rolling hills, with small but rich valleys intervening, watered by several running streams. Atien is divided into three districts, with a king over each. As in the other islands, one takes the lead, and, though nominally with no more power than the others, regulates the affairs of state. "Paul," or "Paulo," with whom I stayed two days, is supreme king here. His sons are trading masters, and have the entire confidence of the missionaries, notwithstanding which, experience told me they were not to be trusted; they will steal or cheat a little if they have an opportunity. The church and school here are large, commodious, and substantial buildings. The people are orderly in their conduct, and the settlements are prettily and healthily situated, each on the crest of a hill, presenting (with the rich, cultivated valleys beneath, the skirting forest, and the great blue Pacific ocean

beyond), a scene entirely different from any of the other islands I had yet visited.

The first night I spent ashore I paid a visit to an Englishman, the only white resident, living in a house adjoining that of the king, and belonging to him, where he traded with the natives. His wife was a woman of New Zealand, who spoke English remarkably well, and kept his house, decently furnished in European style, in neat order. Whilst sitting here, a native hastily entered, saying that the captain had sent him ashore in his canoe, to tell me that the vessel was drifting on shore. I hastened with the doctor to the neighbouring height, from which we could see in the moonlight the brig standing steadily but slowly out to sea. Satisfied that it was some drunken idea, we returned, but the night was so lovely that we protracted our walk, till, observing that we were dogged by some men wherever we turned, we stopped and asked them what they wanted. They told us we must go home, as it was too late to be out. As we were then passing Paulo's, we entered, and asked him if he objected to our walking about, to which he replied, "Not at all." Notwithstanding which assurance, on our again appearing on the public road, we were once more stopped by the rikos, and desired to retire. We told them we had the king's permission. "Yes, but you have not the missionary's," they said. We asked them if it was the king's or the missionary's laws they obeyed; and their answer was that the missionaries made all the laws, and that what the missionary ordered we must obey. We replied that in England missionaries had no such power, and that having the king's permission, we should walk as long as we chose. To prevent a collision, however, of which there seemed some danger, we proceeded to the house of the missionary, who, after he had patiently listened to our lecture on his over-zeal and officiousness, declared that it was quite a mistake, and that

he had not sent the rikos after us. This, however, was a falsehood, as we subsequently learned that he had ordered them to stop us, saying he did not care for the king's permission.

The following day a lad came to me and induced me to accompany him to the house of one of the natives of the better class. On my arrival, an elderly woman came forward to meet me, with every demonstration of joy, and taking my hand, she kissed it, and explained that she was a sister of the governor of Mankd, from whom she had learned, by a letter she had received, that I was his particular friend, and if she did not show me hospitality she need never hope to see her brother again. A new mat was spread for me on fresh hay, and a profusion of viands was placed before me, including ti root, of which I ate for the first time. This root has an immense quantity of saccharine matter in it, and when cooked is chewed like sugar-cane or liquorice, but is much sweeter and coarser (like strong brown sugar) and exceedingly nutritious. When leaving, two of my hostess's handsome boys carried down to the boat a roast hog, some large bunches of bananas and pine apples, a basket of taro, &c., as a parting gift. I called at her house to bid her farewell, and make some trifling presents in return, and to my surprise, found there "Bob," the Huahinean Kanaka of our crew. I asked him what he did there when he knew that the boat was just about to leave.

"Cap'n, speak me go shore," was his reply.

"Yes," I said, "but you shipped to go the voyage, and you can't leave here."

"Oh! me ship go Carifona, me likey go Carifona; ship he no go."

"Yes, of course, the ship is going to California; what put it into your head she was not?"

"Oh! cap'n speaky me he no likey more go Carifona,



Thomas Nightingale, Esq.

London, Published by James Cochran & Co. 11, Waterloo Place, 1835.

OCEANIC SKETCHES.

BY

THOMAS NIGHTINGALE, ESQ.

*A grand specimen
of the Captain
self-sufficient
Geographical
Sketching
& off-hand type
(to his picture
of the Byron)*

A BOTANICAL APPENDIX

BY HOOKER OF GLASGOW

LONDON:

JAMES COCHRANE AND CO.,

11, WATERLOO PLACE

1835.

riant and graceful te-tree. A few days sufficed to replenish our ship-provisions, and we re-embarked, accompanied by Mrs. Barff and family. The 15th of July brought us to Atiu, another of the Harvey Islands. The landing was effected with some difficulty and danger, the inhabitants being obliged to carry us over the surf and rocks on their shoulders. The native settlement is erected on the most elevated part of this island, about three miles from the beach; and is exposed to the sea-breeze, which renders the situation salubrious and delightful in the extreme. In the centre of the town stands a neat stuccoed church; and scattered over the adjacent hills are several huts, some of which are completely enveloped in the branches of the cocoa-nut-tree. While here, I attended divine service, performed by Mr. Barff, who preached in the Tahitian language. There were present, upon this occasion, about eight hundred persons, arrayed in their native costume. In the course

of his lecture, Mr. Barff detailed some of the events of our late expedition to the Navigators, with which recital his audience seemed much gratified, and were especially pleased to find that the exertions of the native teachers had effected so much good.

At day-break, on the following morning, I commenced a pedestrian excursion to one of the subterraneous caverns peculiar to these islands, and was accompanied by fifty natives, bearing torches. After an hour's scrambling, over very rocky and broken ground, strewn with lava, and then passing through vast groves of bread-fruit, banana, and cocoa-nut trees, I found myself at the mouth of the cave, and, with difficulty, descended through an aperture resembling a chimney, about twenty feet deep. Having thus gained an entrance, I penetrated about half a mile, and could have proceeded much farther, but that some of the lights being extinguished by the confined atmosphere, and others burning but dimly, I, in

accordance with the advice of the natives, retraced my steps. The interior of this cavern presented a grand, sublime, and imposing spectacle: from the roof were suspended large pointed masses of chrystallized rock, in various grotesque forms, while a number of natural pillars, curiously and irregularly shaped, composed of the same transparent materials, seemed to support the arch, the glittering and almost supernatural beauty of which was greatly heightened by the reflected light of the passing torches. In several parts, below the surface of the ground, were small springs, of icy coldness, along the sides of which innumerable petrifications were visible. There are evident indications of a crater having once existed in this cave. On my return, I observed several of a similar description, but their entrances, being quite perpendicular, and many feet in depth, would not admit of my descent. I was told that, formerly, these subterranean caverns were resorted to by the

inhabitants, during war-time, as a refuge from the pursuit of their enemies. Previously to quitting Atiu, I obtained from the natives spears, wooden bowls, shells, and mats, in exchange for pins, needles, and other trifles. The Missionaries here, as well as elsewhere, have wrought wonderful improvements. It was at this island, when visited by Captain Cook, that a lieutenant and boat's-crew so narrowly escaped being killed and eaten: the fire for baking them was actually prepared.

On the 16th of July we visited Mangea, belonging to the same group, and a few miles distant from Atiu. The landing here was effected as at that island, being also destitute of a harbour, and equally difficult of access. The beach was crowded with hundreds of people, whose extreme curiosity to see us baffles all description. At length this human mass became so dense, as to oblige me to seek refuge, from suffocation, in the house of a native teacher. After some time had elapsed,

ROVINGS
IN
THE PACIFIC,

FROM 1837 TO 1849:

WITH
A GLANCE AT CALIFORNIA.

BY A MERCHANT
LONG RESIDENT AT TAHITI.

WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS PRINTED IN COLOURS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL II.

LONDON:
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1851.

waiting a reasonable time for an answer, without getting one, on *May 6th* we set sail for the Hervey group, called also Cook's Archipelago, lying between four and five hundred miles, in a west-south-westerly direction, from Tahiti.

The first island we discovered was Mitiaru, on *May 10th*. It is small and low, differing little in elevation from the islands of the Paumotu group. We also sighted Atiu, an island of similar appearance; and in the course of a few hours made Mauke, the island we were bound for. It is in latitude $20^{\circ} 12' S.$, and longitude $157^{\circ} 20' W.$ It is not above six or seven miles in circumference, and is evidently of volcanic formation, being entirely covered with vitrified scoria; but there is rich black soil beneath it which yields prolifically, splendid groves of tamanu and aito trees appearing to shoot from the solid rock. The settlement is in a cleared patch, about the centre of the island, and is really a pretty spot: its population, including men, women, and children, does not exceed 200. A missionary teacher, native of Rainton, is their instructor, and deals his cards with a knowing hand. The natives resemble more the Paumotu men than the Tahitians, having a rougher appearance and less refined habits. The fecundity of the cleared soil supplies them abundantly with vegetable productions, they have plenty of fowls, ducks, turkeys, pigs, &c., and consequently they are well fed and a strong-built race. Pathways are partly constructed, and partly worn by time, leading in various directions through the island; and off these it is scarcely possible to move, owing to the sharp

jagged points of the vitrified scoria, scattered and wedged in a way to defy walking.

Atiu used formerly to exact and receive tribute from Mitiaru and Mauke, not because it had ever rendered them any service, or was of present benefit to them, but on the principle which has always governed the world, and will ever do so, I suppose, "that might makes right." We see that with the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, and the brutes of the forest, the stronger prey upon the weak; and man differs only from the brute creation in that, by his superior cunning, he preys upon all. This tribute to Atiu was discontinued for a season, and the natives thereafter refused to renew it; upon which Atiu assembled its warriors and attacked Mitiaru, burnt down its villages, cut down its coconut trees, destroyed the plantations, and carried off all the young women and children. Having reposed themselves after the successful accomplishment of this notable exploit, the men of Atiu began to think of directing their civilities towards Mauke; but it so happened, that, just at the time Mauke received warning from a Mitiaru fugitive of the kind attentions that were preparing for them, Captain H — called at the island to barter for timber. In great consternation, the natives told him of their deadly apprehensions, and besought his advice and assistance. Now the men of Atiu possessed muskets and powder, obtained from whalers, which gave them an infinite superiority over their neighbours, and the Mauke people had good cause to tremble. But Captain H —, not liking to see his

old friends destroyed, supplied them also with muskets and powder; so that, when the Atiuans arrived, not a little to their disgust and surprise, they found as warm a reception in readiness for them as they were prepared to give, and, dissembling their designs, they returned home. They made two other attempts, hoping to catch Mauke napping; but as she was always on the alert, they ultimately abandoned their meditated purpose, and entered into a league of friendship with them.

Nearly south-east by east from Mauke there is an island, known to the natives as Nūrurotu. Their ancestors used occasionally to resort thither to fish, as it possesses a lagoon in its centre,—the only crater island in the group. They have only traditionary accounts respecting it, as no native living on Mauke has ever seen it. Some charts have "island" laid down in the direction indicated; but I learnt from a person who had visited the island more than once, that its true position is $21^{\circ} 45' S.$, and longitude $155^{\circ} 10' W.$: it is not inhabited, although there are plenty of cocoa-nut trees upon it. The islands of this group are all laid down with much inaccuracy; and Armstrong Island, Roxburg Island, and Mahowara, have no existence. There are no harbours at any of them, being rock-bound and steep too; the landing places are on flats of crystallised coral, and you have to watch your opportunity of going over with the roll of the sea. The natives use, for visiting ships, two light canoes lashed together, which they pull with oars, as we do our boats. Atiu is the Tahitian name; in the vernacular the island is called

Katutia. We were engaged three or four days rafting off the timber prepared for us at Mauke, and we then entered into a fresh contract with the people. Whilst lying off and on, we noticed a strong current setting from the northward; and Captain H— tells me he was present on one occasion when a schooner was nearly swept ashore by it, in consequence of the master of her persisting in keeping to the northward of the island, and the wind subsequently falling light.

May 26th.— Came to an anchor at Taonon. The siege was declared raised on the 8th current; but the only difference it makes is, that the residents have had the liberty of staying out of their houses extended to 8 o'clock instead of sundown, all the other vexations, restrictions, and regulations, being in full force.

As usual, objections were again opposed to the Diana's return to Raiatea; but after some warm expostulations, the governor finally determined that our vessels might go to Raiatea, but on condition that they did not return to Tahiti. "But that will entirely prevent our carrying cattle from Raiatea." "He could not help that; he was determined to prevent direct communication from Raiatea, and, therefore, if we had permission to go there, we must visit some other port before returning to Tahiti." Having thus definitively declared himself, Monsieur Bruat rose abruptly and wished me "good morning." He has no more right to interfere with British commerce at Raiatea than he has with that to New South Wales; but query, if he violates international

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: ADMINISTRATORS & ACADEMICS

In 1901 Atiu was annexed by New Zealand. This meant that tariffs, trade and revenue were placed under the control of New Zealand, and that New Zealand laws could be extended to the island. A European Resident Agent was appointed to act as magistrate and, later, president of the Island Council. He was supervised by the Resident Commissioner of the Cook Islands based in Rarotonga. As a result of these changes, the power of the ariki was undermined and the number of Europeans on Atiu increased.

Several of these Europeans had an interest in local history and custom. Major J.T.Large, for example, was a Resident Agent who wrote a number of articles about Atiu for The Journal of the Polynesian Society (see Sources 14 and 15). R.G.Crocombe first visited Atiu as a member of the Cook Islands administration, but later returned as a researcher (see Sources 18, 19 and 20). One of his projects involved collaborating with Vaine Rere, an expert on the traditional knowledge of Atiu (see Source 19). Patrick Marshall and Michael Trotter are also academics, while G.F.Russell worked for the Rarotongan Weather Office (see Sources 13, 16 and 17).

A number of unpublished studies of Atiu are also in existence. These are generally in the form of PhD theses, but are too lengthy and specialized to be included here.

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CLASS NO. 72

GEOLOGY OF RAROTONGA AND ATIU

BY
PATRICK MARSHALL

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

BULLETIN 72

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ATIU ISLAND

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Atiu Island, a coral rimmed volcanic mass with a circumference of 12 1/2 miles and a summit height of about 250 feet was discovered by Captain Cook on March 31, 1777. The account (8) states that Lieutenant Gore with two boats landed on the reef, taking with him Omai, a native of Huaheine. The Atiuans welcomed the visitors and carried them from the edge of the reef to the beach, a narrow stretch of sand, from which a slender defile led through jagged limestone rocks to a strand thickly covered with vegetation. The white men were then conducted to a marae (*morai*) half a mile farther on, where three chiefs were seated some distance apart, and between them lines of men armed with clubs. Lieutenant Gore found that the natives were gradually separating his men with the object, he thought, of detaining them. There were even suspicions that ovens were being prepared with sinister intentions. It seems, however, that the islanders merely wished to detain the white men ashore and entertain them in a lavish manner and that the ovens were being heated to cook pigs. Gill (15, pp. 186-187) states after questioning the natives that they would certainly have detained the visitors but for the exaggerated tales of Omai who told them that the ship's guns could easily destroy the island and kill every person living on it. He also states that during their stay on the island, the visitors were the guests of the chief Tiaputa.

Lieutenant Gore and his men were able to leave the island and embark again without molestation, but Gore complains of the crowding by the natives and the fact that his men were virtually prevented from making any observations on the geographic features of the island, or the condition of the people.

The actual point of landing was at Orovaru on the northwest side of the island (fig. 11). My native guide Ngapaku showed me the place: a small sandy beach with rugged limestone on either side crowned with toa trees (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). From the head of this small nook a defile leads with a gradually rising floor to the top of the level strand which runs round all the western part of the island. From the strand a path leads to the marae (*morai*) of Orongo where Tepaku told me the reception of Gore by the chiefs took place. This old marae is still in a good state of preservation. The walls are 2 feet 3 inches high, built in part of large stalactites taken from a cave, in part of limestone blocks, and in part of boulders of volcanic rock which must have been diligently sought and carried a considerable distance. The larger platform measures 12 by 15 feet, and the smaller, 8 feet distant, 4 by 5 feet. All the adjoining ground is covered with small limestone pebbles carried from the strand. Ngapaku said that the chiefs had their allotted positions near the marae and that the people were assembled between them and the adjoining swamp.

Lieutenant Gore seems to have been less successful than Captain Cook in dealing with the natives in most of the islands visited. On Atiu he could obtain no supplies of water or fodder both of which were urgently required and except for a few coconuts no food was purchased. However, no water could have been obtained nearer than a mile from the coast. As the weather proved rather unfavorable and the provision of supplies uncertain Cook wasted no further time at Atiu, but lay under Takutea (called by him Otakotaia) a small island of coral sand 12 miles north of Atiu. He found no inhabitants on the island though it is often visited by natives of Atiu to obtain a supply of fish. A considerable quantity of coconuts and fodder for the live stock was obtained, but no fresh water.

Though the language of the Atiuans is more like Maori than Tahitian, Omai, a native of Huaheine, who was in Cook's vessel was able to understand it and soon learned that three Society Islanders were living among the Atiuans. These men told Omai that they were the remnants of an expedition 20 strong which set out from Tahiti for Raiatea. Strong winds blew them out of their course and after drifting about for a number of days they came in sight of Atiu. All but three of them had succumbed to exposure, hunger, and thirst. The survivors had been well treated by the inhabitants of Atiu, they had become incorporated in the island society and refused the offer that was made to take them back to their own country. They must have been on Atiu for more than ten years for they had no knowledge of the visit of Captain Wallis to Tahiti in 1767. These Society Islanders have been so completely absorbed by the natives of Atiu that the story of their arrival is nearly lost. As a result of diligent inquiry in 1926, Mr. W. H. Scott, Resident Agent, discovered that a memory of the event still lingers and that the families of Tahitian origin are known.

After Cook's departure Atiu seems to have been unvisited until 1822, when the missionary John Williams arrived. A little before his coming a characteristic incident had occurred. A chief of Atiu named Akaina was living in Mauke, a neighboring island of small size. He became enamoured with the wife of an important chief of Mauke and at last managed to persuade the lady to live with him. Akaina was promptly killed but a native of Atiu then living on Mauke managed to paddle his small canoe to Atiu across the open ocean. As soon as he had told the relatives of the murdered chief about the events in Mauke an expedition was organized for revenge. Rongomatane, the leading chief, sallied forth with a fleet of canoes. Landing on Mauke he slaughtered the people in large numbers and not content with that he extended his voyage to Mitiaro, another little island 20 miles east of Atiu, and repeated the slaughter there. For years afterwards the miserable remnant in Mauke and Mitiaro lived in terror of their lives, for the Atiu natives from time to time descended on them and killed as many as could be found.

When Williams landed on Atiu, he found the chief Rongomatane a willing convert to Christianity, owing to the persuasion of a chief from Aitutaki who was among Williams' party. Hearing of Mauke from the natives, Williams decided to go there. Rongomatane went with him. Great consternation prevailed among the people of Mauke but it was quickly changed to the joy of unexpected deliverance when they found that the dreaded chief had come in the spirit of Christianity. Since that time there have been no inter-island conflicts.

Even on Atiu itself there were occasionally fights. At the time of Rongomatane's absence on Mauke when most of the fighting men were away, the people of the Makatea region tried to gain control. These people comprised those who had been banished from the society of the island and in daily fear of their lives were eking out a miserable existence in the impenetrable rocky fastnesses. The women who had been left behind by Rongomatane, took up arms and the Makatea people had to retreat to their hiding places.

In connection with missionary enterprises Atiu was many times visited. In 1822 Mr. J. M. Orsmond sent two native teachers from Tahiti. John Williams who arrived in December of that year found them in a most pitiable condition "having been stripped by the natives of every article of property, suffering exceedingly from hunger." Visits were paid afterwards by the missionaries of Tahiti from time to time. In 1842 Rev. E. Krause arrived from America but he was unfortunate in landing on a part of the island where no natives were living. Rev. W. Gill first went to Atiu in 1843 and soon afterwards Rev. H. Royle paid visits, some of which were several months in length. For forty years after John Williams first visited the island, missionary efforts were in charge of native teachers. Until quite recent times all the missionary effort was due to the London Missionary Society—a Methodist organization; but lately the Roman Catholic Church, Seventh Day Adventists, and the Latter Day Saints have worked on the islands with greater or less success.

For many years missionary steamers, whaling ships, and occasional stray vessels called at Atiu at rare intervals. In recent years trading steamers call for copra, and bring such supplies as are needed. During the orange season fruit steamers pay a monthly visit and sometimes a vessel of the Royal Navy calls; but usually during the summer months, the so-called "hurricane season," no vessels appear.

POPULATION

Originally most of the natives of Atiu lived in the lower ground near the taro cultivations where terraces had been excavated for houses from the sides of the radiating spurs of volcanic rock. It may be noted, however, that Cook saw buildings on the plateau. The missionaries induced the people for their

health and convenience, to live together on the plateau—the central flat part of the island which stands 280 feet above sea level.

At the present time all the people live on the plateau. The villages though quite near to one another have separate names and are subject to different chiefs of whom three are prominent at present: Ngamaru of Areora, Parua of Mapumai, and Rongomatane of Tengtangi.

The plateau is decidedly a healthy situation for Europeans and perhaps for the natives also. Certainly teaching and administration became far easier when the people were concentrated than when they were scattered in widely separated localities. The water supply, however, presented a difficult problem. The flowing springs that issue at the heads of most of the valleys are about 50 feet below the level of the plateau to which the water has to be carried. Within recent years the Government has constructed concrete tanks to store the rainwater that falls on the roofs of the village halls. As the rainfall is considerable and frequent this supply is sufficient at ordinary times for domestic wants. A curious attitude of the native mind comes to light in connection with this water supply. Those who live furthest from the tanks are jealous of those who live near them and may purposely leave the tap running so that all may fare alike in having to carry their water from the springs below the plateau rim.

Though all the natives live on the plateau most of them have small huts for temporary occupation near their cultivation grounds on the lower levels, and they spend much of their time there. Tribal boundaries are rigidly recognized in the settlements though the villages are almost continuous. As in Mangaia, Rarotonga, and probably in the other islands of the Cook group, the land is divided into sectors (*tapere*) separated from one another by radial lines proceeding from the central point of the plateau to the coast. Each family of standing has its own *tapere*. At the present time the population of Atiu comprises 925 natives and 10 Europeans.

VEGETATION

The small size of Atiu Island combined with its relatively low altitude prevent it from offering a great variety of station for plant growth. Consequently, the number of plant species is small and as would be expected, there seems to be no plant that is peculiar to this island. On the top of the low cliffs that face the sea the plant covering is that common to many Pacific islands. Proceeding inland, the species first seen are *Ipomaea lobata*, *Heliotropium anomalum*, and some hardy grasses. In most places, the first shrubby plant is *Scaevola koenigii*, commonly with *Cassytha filiformis* as a parasite, and the first tree is *Casuarina equisetifolia* (toa) associated with *Pandanus odoratissimus* (ara). The graceful foliage of the toa softens the harshness of the rocky coast. Sheltered from the blast of the salt-bearing

winds by these plants a mixed vegetation including the magnificent *Barringtonia speciosa* (*utu*), is found. On the southwest side of the island the particularly huge *Barringtonia* trees with wide spreading branches completely satisfy all preconceived ideas of tropical luxuriance. Here and there the coconut palm is found but only in situations where it appears to have been planted though it grows freely in all parts of the coastal land.

Other prominent trees are the *Hernandia peltata* (*puka*) and the *Calophyllum inophyllum* (*tamauu*), a tree much valued for its canoe making timber. With these trees is a thick spreading growth of *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*pu-rau*), and of *Spondias dulcis* (*vi* apple). Likewise *Broussonetia papyrifera* (*aule*), and *Elaeocarpus rarotongensis* (*karaka*) are quite common. Here and there the wild banana, *Musa paradisaca*, is growing, but it is not common in Atiu. At the inner edge of the Makatea where the ground is kept wet by the waters of the swamp the *Inocarpus edulis* (*maupe*) appears as lofty trees with their characteristic sharply buttressed trunks. The waters of the swamp are shallow and are covered with a growth of reeds and rushes.

The volcanic ground is covered with a growth of the fern, *Gleichenia dichotoma* (*tuauu*), and with it a good deal of guava but both of these have a low growth because of the fires which often sweep across this ground. In the ravines through which the small streams run there is a varied growth from which the great *maupe* trees rear their crests but the predominant vegetation is a matted growth of hau (*au*).

On the Makatea are some plantations of coconut palms but these are more plentiful on the lower slopes of the volcanic ground. Oranges are grown on the Makatea. Taro is cultivated in the swamp near the volcanic slopes and in the lower part of the valleys. Bananas are planted on the lower parts of the volcanic slopes while many of the plantations of kumera and yams are on the volcanic plateau. Coconuts are also planted here, and there are a few oranges in the valleys.

The main industry of the natives is the production of copra, all of which is shipped in canoes at Taunganui and transported to steamers or schooners lying off and on. In July and August a few oranges are shipped to New Zealand.

BIRD LIFE

As elsewhere in Cook Islands, Atiu has few land birds. This is to be expected in view of the small size of the island, the small surface relief, the remoteness, and the large number of inhabitants who in the past have had a meagre supply of animal food.

A small swallow not found on Rarotonga or on Mangaia flits about the trees on the plateau. A woodpecker is rather common. A pigeon is to be found in most parts of the island especially in the wooded Makatea. The long

tailed cuckoo is not uncommon in May. This migratory bird is found in New Zealand from October till February. It is noteworthy that with the exception of the pigeon the birds seen on Rarotonga, Mangaia, and Atiu, are all different though on Mangaia and Atiu some of them are very common.

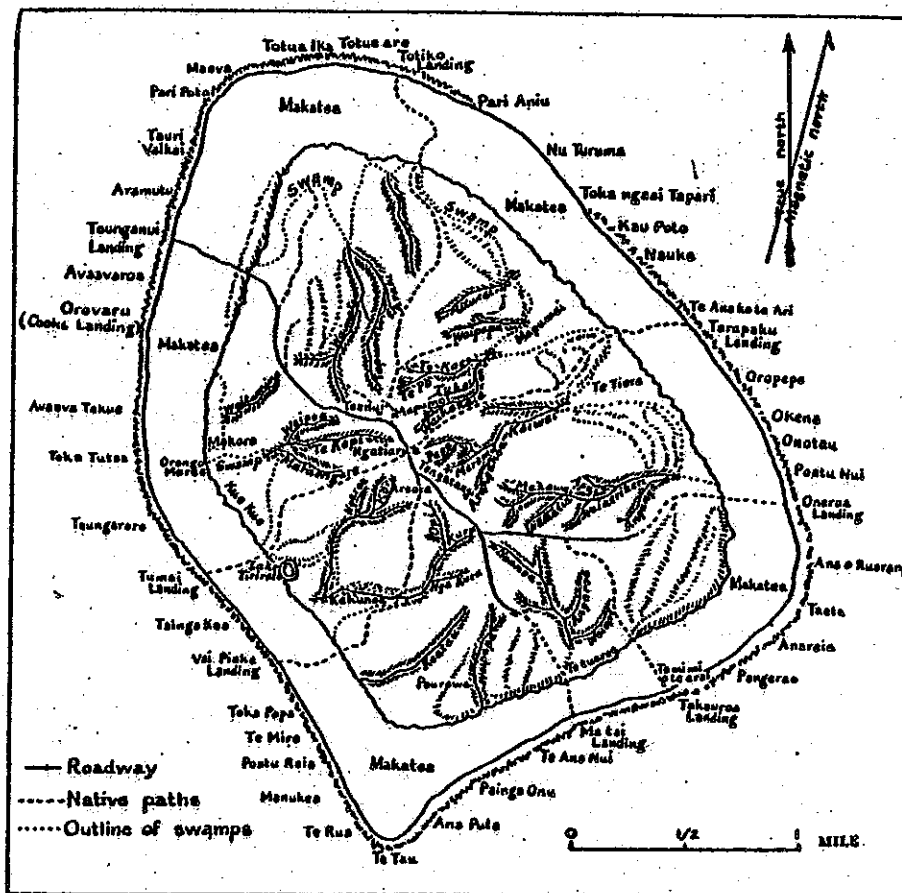


FIGURE 8.—Map of Atiu Island: Outline Survey by H. M. Connal (1911); physiographic features by Patrick Marshall (1927).

The water birds are not numerous. The duck (*Anas superciliosa*), the egret, and the blue heron of Atiu are the same as those seen throughout Cook Islands and in New Zealand. A dotterel common on Atiu, was not seen elsewhere. Only three kinds of sea birds were seen: the well known tropic birds

(*Phaethon coccyzus* and *ruficaudis*) and the frigate bird. No gannets and no petrels of any kind were observed.

It is a little strange that the native names that were given me by my guide Ngapaku for the duck and longtailed cuckoo: *morerau* and *arawi lang-aroa* respectively, are different from those in use by the Maoris: *parera* and *koekoera*. The names of the other birds are the same in the two dialects.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC OUTLINE

The small island of Atiu with a circuit of only 12 1/2 miles is surrounded by a reef 50 to 100 yards from the shore. (See fig. 8.) Low cliffs 10 to 20 feet high front the sea everywhere but there are many recesses in which small beaches of sand are found. From the top of the low sea cliffs the land rises gradually, but does not at first reach an elevation greater than 70 feet in a distance of 300 yards. From this point it descends gradually for 600 to 800 yards, when a swampy tract is reached. The swamp has an average width of a quarter of a mile, but is not continuous around the island. From the

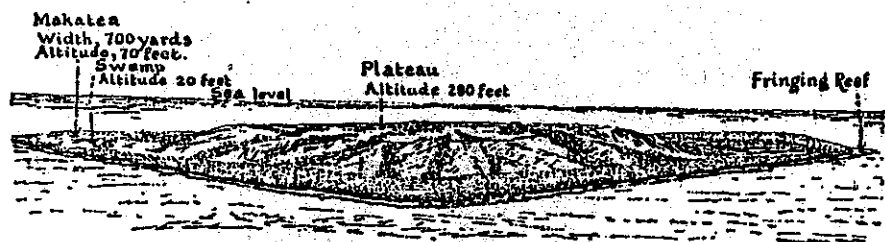


FIGURE 9.—Imaginary bird's eye view of Atiu Island.

inner edge of the swamp the land rises more steeply and at a height of 230 feet it suddenly flattens out and the center of the island is occupied by a low dome shaped plateau with a summit altitude of 270 feet.

Atiu thus has a general resemblance to Mangaia Island (fig. 9). The same main features of reef, strand, Makatea, taro ground, and central volcanic hill are present, but these features have not the same distinctness as on Mangaia. The reef in Atiu is in few places more than 50 yards wide; there is no marked line between the strand and the Makatea which rises no higher than 70 feet; the inland cliff which marks the descent from the Makatea to the taro ground is in most places hardly noticeable and the passage from one to the other involves but little change of level. The plateau which crowns the volcanic core of Atiu is much more extensive but is at a lower level than the corresponding feature at Mangaia.

THE CORAL REEF

Except for a distance of a half mile at Te Pari Aniu the island of Atiu is entirely surrounded by a coral reef. Its margin is, however, close to the shore—in few places more than 50 yards distant—and the reef flat is frequently swept by the strong currents that arise from the breaking of the surf on the reef edge.

The shore line faces the sea in cliffs 10 to 20 feet high and are somewhat undercut by the sea which at high water and in rough weather breaks with some force at their base. It is, therefore, certain that a portion of the reef flat represents a shelf of marine erosion where the seaward fringe of the Maka-

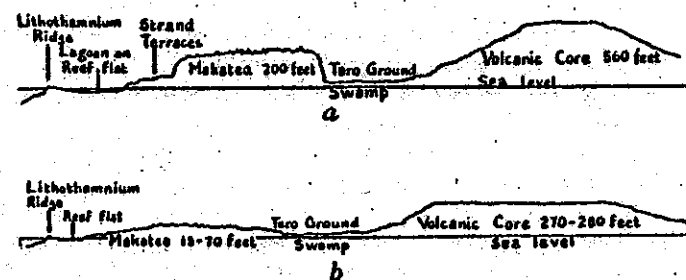


FIGURE 10.—Sketch sections showing general profiles: a, Mangaia Island; b, Atiu Island.

tea has been removed. It is probable, however, that a very small portion of the reef flat has been formed in this way, for at Te Pari Aniu, where there is no protecting reef there is no erosion shelf comparable with the reef flat in other parts of the island. At Te Pari Aniu the water is perhaps three fathoms deep at the foot of the cliff though large boulders covered with coral forming organisms can be distinguished here and there. It is probable then that nearly all of the reef flat is due to the outward growth of the reef. The edge of the reef on which the sea breaks is here as at Mangaia covered with a growth of calcareous algae, and *Polytrema* while coral is to be seen but seldom. All the specimens obtained, however, consist mainly of coral, covered with a thin coating of calcareous algae. It is possible here to obtain a measure of the rapidity of the growth of these algae. In 1910 a boat passage was blasted through the reef and since that time *Lithothamnium* has grown on the broken rock surfaces to an average thickness of half an inch. It seems, therefore, that these algae can form a crust of limestone one inch thick in 30 years.

The outer surface of the reef was closely examined from a canoe and from the edge of the *Lithothamnium* ridge at Taunganui on the northwest

side of the island in fine weather. It descends rapidly but irregularly at first for a depth of 5 fathoms from which depth the surface of some large outlying bosses of reef extend upward about half way to the water level. The soundings increase quickly but the bottom could not be observed at a greater depth than 20 fathoms, 100 yards distant from the outer edge of the reef. The native fishermen, however, say that on all sides the sea floor slopes steeply to a depth of 100 fathoms, the limit reached by their lines. There is no anchorage for steamers.

Corals abound in all of the interstices of the outer side of the reef and among the corals there is a plentiful algal growth. On the tops of the out-



FIGURE 11.—Sketch of Captain Cook's landing, Orovaru, Atiu Island.

lying rocks as also on the surface of the reef a growth of algae alone is to be seen. Corals grow in abundance on the sea floor outside the reef but patches of sand are to be seen here and there. The sand areas become larger but coral heads are still abundant at the depth of 20 fathoms which was the limit of visibility.

THE MAKATEA

GENERAL FEATURES

The Makatea (formation of raised coral limestone) in the Atiu Island has an average breadth of 1200 yards. It faces the beach as a small cliff, highest on the southern and eastern sides of the island but nowhere exceeding 20 feet in height. From the top of this cliff the surface continues to rise gradually and in most places uniformly until at a distance of 300 to 400 yards from the beach it is 70 feet above the sea level. From that point, the surface declines gradually until the Makatea terminates abruptly at the edge of the taro swamp 10-20 feet above sea level.

As at Mangaia, the surface of the Makatea on Atiu is highly irregular but

the spaces between the projecting points of limestone rock are more completely filled in with red soil, especially on the inland side. As a whole, the Makatea on Atiu is a less formidable barrier between the coast and the interior of the island, than at Mangaia. In particular it does not rise as a cliff from the taro ground and there is no cliff on the beach side until the actual coast is reached. Though the small cliff that faces the beach is far more continuous, it is breached on the north and west sides of the island almost every hundred yards by a deep recess that offers a passage along a sandy floor, gradually rising to the surface of the Makatea. (See fig. 10.)

MINERALOGICAL COMPOSITION

In the rock at Tumai landing, which is typical of that forming the seaward edge of the Makatea, the skeleton of organisms such as the corals and *Halimeda* originally composed of aragonite, are still composed of that mineral. Some of them, however, show the kind of change as described by David (13, p. 400) and by Skeats (29, p. 106). The original cavities of the coral skeleton are in places partly or wholly filled with aragonite of secondary origin in long prismatic crystals that are optically and crystallographically continuous with the crystalline elements of the coral structure. In a closely adjacent part of the rock, or even in the same microscopic preparation the material of the coral skeleton may be changed to calcite in the form of large plates, though dark lines may still show the margin of the original coral structure (Pl. V. A, D). In the same specimen relatively large rhombohedrons of calcite may appear in the central parts of the cavities. For all specimens studied it is thought that these crystals are formed from the preexisting crystals of secondary aragonite, because in these places the aragonite crystals have rounded terminations and have lost their clear definition. Whether or not the calcite rhombohedrons start in this way, they undoubtedly grow at the expense of the secondary aragonite, and before long completely fill the cavities in the coral which is then entirely changed into calcite. It should be borne in mind that all these different conditions can be seen in a single microscopic preparation of the rock. It seems that the aragonite of the actual coral skeleton changes into calcite before the secondary aragonite which fills the cavities. In the sandy portion of the rock from this outer part of the Makatea, which in the specimens actually obtained is not abundant, the various grains, whether composed of calcite or aragonite organisms, are cemented together by a deposit of the fibrous calcite crystals of secondary origin that have previously been described as formed on the *Lithothamnium* ridge at Mangaia Island (25, p. 15, Pl. III, 3). Here, however, the individual fibers appear rather coarser than on the ridge. It is also worthy of note that in one specimen from the *Lithothamnium* ridge of Mangaia a grain of coral in the sand had its cavities partly filled with secondary aragonite. In the rock from Tumai

landing there is a large amount of *Halimeda* in the fine sand grains which form a portion of the rock. In a specimen collected from a spot 10 feet above sea level and 50 yards back from the beach, these *Halimeda* grains still retain their brownish tint. None of the specimens obtained from the Makatea at points more distant from the reef contains aragonite; all of this min-

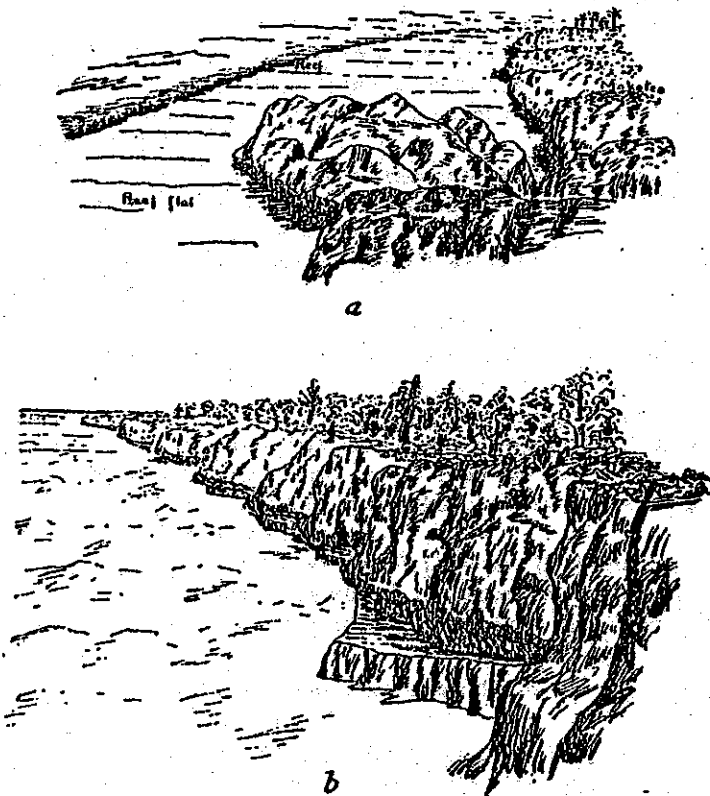


FIGURE 12.—Sketches of the coast line, Atiu Island: a, coast at Taunganui protected by a reef; b, coast at Te Pari Aniu, unprotected.

eral has been changed into calcite. As soon as the strand is left, *Halimeda* becomes far less common and the material of all the organic skeletons is recrystallized. It is hard to distinguish the fibrous growth of secondary calcite. This, on the whole, is far less distinct than in similar positions in Mangaia Island.

Soon after the highest point of the Makatea has been passed, some 400 yards from the beach, dolomitization begins. Whether this condition prevails

in all parts of the island cannot be stated with certainty but it was found in at least four places: Taunganui, Oneroa, Te Miro, and Tumai, on the routes across the Makatea. (See Pl. V, B, C).

The change to dolomite proceeds very irregularly; in a single specimen one portion may contain 85.4 per cent of calcium carbonate and another no more than 68.6 per cent. Where the proportion of calcium carbonate is large it was found that the dolomite portion consists of the skeletons or organisms that were originally aragonite and were afterwards changed to calcite. Of these the corals are the principal organisms but some of the Foraminifera though originally calcite, have also been changed to dolomite. Thus while *Amphistegina* remains as unchanged calcite, the skeletons of *Gypsina* and *Operculina* originally also calcite, have been changed to dolomite. Though the cavities in the coral skeletons are generally entirely filled with calcite, the central portion of some is filled with dolomite in the middle of the calcite filling. (See Pl. IV, D, E, F).

In those parts of the specimen where the change is most complete, *Lithothamnium* is the only unchanged organism. It retains its original structure almost without change. This is a striking fact for it is now well known that the stony part of the tissue of *Lithothamnium* and its allies contains a higher proportion of magnesium carbonate than any other organism of the reef.

So far as can be seen in the rock which is now completely recrystallized, the only other situation in which calcite is found is in some of the spaces between the original grains of sand. Even in these places the calcite occupies the center of the original spaces only. As the inner edge of the Makatea is approached, the dolomitization of the rock is more pronounced and unchanged calcite is difficult to find (Pl. V, E). The infillings in the lacunae of a few coral skeletons show alternating layers of calcite and dolomite.

There is every reason to think that all of these mineralogical changes have taken place at or near the sea level. All the various conditions of deposition of secondary calcite and dolomite have been found in rocks that are now exposed at the surface while the nature of their exposure and the study of the physiography point emphatically to the opinion that the rock has never been submerged beneath any but a slight depth of water.

COMPARISON WITH FUNAFUTI

All the mineralogical changes found in the limestone constituting the Makatea on Atiu are recorded in drill cores obtained at Funafuti atoll. It is of interest to notice the depth at which they occur. From the description by Cullis (10) the following list has been prepared:

1. 10-20 feet: the formation of fibrous calcite in the cavities was noticed in all of the bores.

2. 20-90 feet: the percentage of magnesium carbonate increases with depth to a maximum of 16 per cent but no dolomite could be detected.
3. Deposit of secondary aragonite.
4. 100 feet: secondary aragonite changes to calcite.
5. 150+ feet: primary aragonite changes to calcite.
6. 50-637 feet: the material encountered is generally unconsolidated coral sand which it is suggested might be due to the solution of the aragonite in rock originally solid.
7. 637-1117 feet: the rock is dolomite except for one or two small masses of calcite.

To account for these variations in the composition of the material, the following explanations were advanced by the writers of the Funafuti report:

1. The fibrous calcite is thought by Professor J. W. Judd to have been deposited directly from solution.
2. The increase in magnesia in the upper part of the bore is ascribed to the leaching of the more soluble CaCO_3 from the rock in which magnesia was at first present in relatively small amount. (Skeats [30, p.199] suggests that as calcium and magnesium carbonates have solubilities that vary differently with changes of pressure, it is possible that at a pressure of two or three atmospheres a compound of the two carbonates is stable and tends to form readily when calcium carbonate is in the presence of the magnesian salts of sea water and carbonic acid gas.)
3. The deposition of secondary aragonite is ascribed to direct crystallization from solution in sea water.
- 4 and 5. No special explanation is given for these mineral changes.
6. The incoherence of the sandy material is thought to be due to the solution of aragonite.
7. It is suggested by Judd that the formation of dolomite is partly due to the leaching of some of the calcium carbonate, and partly to the greater abundance of the remains of organisms that have a relatively high percentage of magnesium carbonate in their stony material. Clark (7, p.448) regards it as most probable that the process of dolomitization is partly due to leaching and partly to the replacement of calcium carbonate by magnesium carbonate.

Comparison of the results obtained at Funafuti with those obtained at Mangaia and Atiu islands shows at once, as previously suggested by Skeats (30), that for many of these chemical changes it is erroneous to regard the depth of formation as a necessary factor. With the exception of the incoherent sandy material all of the conditions of limestone that have been recorded at different depths in the Funafuti bore have been found in the surface rock of Atiu Island. The great thickness of sand found in the bore was thought by the authors of the Funafuti report to have been originally solid coral rock

and that from it aragonite had been removed by solution, leaving a mass of loose sand.

As compared with the records obtained at Funafuti a study of the materials from Atiu shows:

1. The deposit of fibrous calcite between the grains of sand takes place almost at the surface of the living reef at Atiu, also at Mangaia. In many places a thickness of only 3 mm. separates the actual surface of the reef from small cavities where the formation of this material is in progress. This portion is never more than a few seconds without a covering of water. The reef is continuously beneath water, except when the tide is at its lowest, and even then it is awash to every wave that breaks on the margin of the reef. Under these conditions concentration of calcium carbonate in solution by evaporation seems impossible, and its deposition cannot be explained in this way. It may be that the carbon dioxide required by *Lithothamnium* for its transpiration is derived from some of the calcium bicarbonate that is in solution in sea water and that the calcium carbonate thus liberated is deposited in the fibrous form. However, it would be expected that calcium carbonate formed in this manner would be deposited on the surface of the *Lithothamnium* rather than in the spaces between the small grains of sand. Calcium sulphate is, of course, present in relatively large quantities in sea water and under the conditions prevailing on a coral reef; the carbon dioxide liberated from the surface of the algae and other organisms by respiration may form calcium carbonate. The distinction between the fibrous carbonate formed in the presence of sea water and the rhombohedral form of all of the calcite that is deposited subsequently may have a large significance. The sand which is held by the algae and other organisms on the surface of the reef is surrounded by living and dead organic matter from which a great deal of carbonic acid gas is constantly being emitted. It is quite possible that as a result of the reaction between this gas and the calcium sulphate or chloride of sea water, calcium carbonate is produced and at once becomes crystallized in the fibrous form.

At Funafuti a deposit of fibrous calcium carbonate was found again in the lowest 300 feet of the bore. Nothing analogous to this was found in the dolomitic rock of Atiu Island, and no explanation of this occurrence at Funafuti is here attempted. At Mangaia and Atiu islands this fibrous form of calcite very soon changes into the irregular rhombohedral crystals and no subsequent development of the fibrous type of calcite structure was seen.

2. The higher percentage of MgCO_3 at a slight depth may be due merely to the prevalence of *Lithothamnium* and other organisms rich in MgCO_3 .

3. The origin of the secondary aragonite in the lacunae of the coral skeletons may be the same as that of the fibrous calcite but the effect of the aragonite prisms in the coral structure is sufficiently potent to cause the carbonate

proved particularly suitable for the study of hand specimens the surface of which had been ground down smoothly before the stain was applied. Surfaces treated in this way revealed the progress of dolomitization in a surprising manner. The extent to which the remains of different kinds of organisms were effected varied to such a degree that it was thought desirable to have a confirmation of the results by some other method that also would discriminate between calcite and dolomite. Of the acids tried, dilute acetic acid gave the most satisfactory result. When a smoothed surface of a dolomitic limestone was etched with this substance the calcite was at once dissolved but the dolomite was not touched. The distinction was extremely sharp and the result confirmed in very detail that obtained from the staining.

It is found that the first material to change into dolomite is the skeleton of organisms which originally is formed of aragonite. This agrees with the results recorded by the Funafuti expedition: though the associated statement that secondary aragonite changes more easily into calcite than the primary was not confirmed by examination of the Atiu specimens; in several tests the primary aragonite changed first. The changes in the corals are the most noteworthy. In all the partly altered rock the material of the skeleton had completely changed while the coral mud that fills all of the cavities remained quite unaffected. Thus in the compact magnesian limestone, a complete coral structure is revealed by etching and it stands out in relief (Pl. IV, D). The *Foraminifera* are differently affected: the genera *Gypsina*, *Polytrema*, *Amphistegina*, *Operculina*, and *Rotalia* can be distinguished in the rock. The tests of *Operculina*, *Polytrema*, and *Rotalia* are soon converted into dolomite while that of the other genera remain as unaltered calcite. In the very large number of each of these genera examined no exception to the rule was seen. Exactly the opposite condition was found in regard to the calcite mud with which the small chambers have been filled. These genera in which the skeleton has been changed to dolomite have their chambers filled with unchanged calcite mud. On the other hand those genera which retain the unchanged calcite skeleton have chambers filled with dolomite which is obviously derived from original calcite mud. The acid treatment confirms this in every detail. The dolomite skeletons stand out in well defined relief while the chambers are deep pits; the walls of the calcite skeletons have dissolved out while the dolomite in filling of the chambers stands out as minute rounded bosses. (See Pl. IV, E, F.)

No explanation of this remarkable difference is attempted here. It would seem, however, that it must be due to some inherent molecular structure in the calcite of the skeleton though that would not be expected to have any effect on the calcite mud with which the chambers are filled. Comparison may perhaps be made with the materials that were obtained from a depth

greater than 850 feet in the Funafuti bore. There the deposition of calcite and dolomite alternated in the linings of many of the cavities.

CAUSE OF DOLOMITIZATION

A good historical sketch of the views held by various geologists regarding dolomitization has been given by Skeats (30, p. 186) and by Clarke (7, pp. 480-86), but the authorities that they cite were for the most part not especially concerned with this phenomenon as related to the changes that have taken place in coral reefs. In reference to this particular aspect of the question, Dana (11, p. 307) has suggested that there may be a concentration of magnesian salts in lagoon water. Judd (13, p. 386) has laid emphasis on the possibility of the leaching of calcium carbonate which would leave behind a residue rich in magnesium carbonate. Clarke (7) tentatively ascribes the change to the combined action of leaching and of the presence of the preponderance of remains of organisms that originally contained a high percentage of magnesium carbonate in their skeleton.

Before any attempt is made to solve this problem it must be recognized that before dolomitization commences the rock has already become solid and resistant by the deposition of secondary calcite, some of which is first deposited as aragonite, in all of the spaces originally vacant. Cullis (10, p. 414) particularly mentions that the rocks between the depths of 1000 and 1070 feet at Funafuti show no sign of solution.

The two islands, Mangaia and Atiu, offer a great contrast so far as the distribution of dolomite is concerned. In Atiu the highest portion of the Makatea is somewhat on the outer side of its median line; in Mangaia the highest part is at its inner edge (fig. 10). In my description of Mangaia (25) it was stated that judging from the composition of some 20 specimens of limestone from the Makatea no dolomite occurred on the island. Since then it has been found that dolomite is present on the outer side of the Makatea at Te Ara Toiro, in the southern part of the island, and probably at Kumukumu in the northern part, and at Opiu in the southwest part.

In Atiu Island, on the other hand, dolomitization is general and for the most part complete throughout the inner part of the Makatea. Actual determinations of the amount of lime and magnesia were made in comparatively few places and the general statement is based on tests made by placing a drop of dilute acetic acid on the surface of specimens of the rock from a number of localities. The action of the acid had first been tried on the surface of specimens in which the amount of lime and magnesia had been estimated and it was found that the activity of the reaction gave a definite indication of the amount of magnesium carbonate in the specimen. This test showed that the extent of dolomitization decreased rather rapidly as the Makatea was crossed from its inner to its outer side. When the highest point of the encircling ring

to crystallize in the molecular form as aragonite instead of calcite, as elsewhere. The microscopic preparations that were made of the rock collected at Tumai landing show clearly that the aragonite of the coral skeleton changes into calcite grains of relatively large dimensions before the secondary aragonite has undergone any change (Pl. V, D). This observation is contrary to those made by Cullis (10) on the material from Funafuti, where the primary aragonite is more lasting than the secondary. Again in the rock examined from Atiu the calcite which fills the central portions of a few of the spaces is certainly secondary and has been formed from aragonite, whereas in the Funafuti material it is regarded as primary.

In the Funafuti report, no indication is given of the nature of the change that the fibrous calcite undergoes. It is merely stated that in various bores fibrous calcite was found at depths between 20 and 90 feet and again from 815 feet to the bottom of the bore. A study of specimens from the Makatea at Atiu proved that the fibrous calcite had undergone changes similar to those previously recorded for specimens from Mangaia. In both islands the fibrous form of the mineral rapidly changes into rhombohedral calcite. At first the rhombohedral crystals are quite small but as older and older rocks are examined the crystals are found to increase in size gradually. But even when all the elements of the rock have been recrystallized it is possible to see the limits of the original fibrous calcite for they are indicated by the slight cloudiness of the mineral where the fibrous matter has been replaced.

4 and 5. The change from aragonite both primary and secondary to calcite clearly takes place at the surface and has no relation to thickness of covering as was suggested in the Funafuti report. It seems to be simply a change from a less stable to a more stable form of calcium carbonate.

6. The unconsolidated coral sand which forms most of the Funafuti core at depths between 50 and 637 feet contains many organic remains that have become disintegrated by the solution of such substances as coral skeletons originally composed of aragonite. May it not be that this material was originally deposited as sand on the margin of a sinking reef, the actual site of which migrated slightly during long continued subsidence.

7. The development of dolomite from coral rock is, of course, a special problem on which there is still a considerable difference of opinion.

DOLomite IN PACIFIC ISLANDS

It is well known that dolomite is widely distributed in the raised coral rocks of Pacific islands. Dana (11, p.307) first recorded dolomite in a specimen from the island of Makatea. A second specimen, however, from the same island contained only 5 per cent of magnesium carbonate. In later years Skeats (30, p.118) showed that all the specimens collected by Agassiz from the raised coral reefs of Vatuvala, Yathala, and Kambara, were in reality dol-

omites; that the rocks from Christmas, Mango, Namuka, and Euathere islands included both limestones and dolomites; and that only limestones were found on Niue, Vayau, Tongatabu, and Guam islands. In addition to these records, Elschner (14) reports dolomites at sea level at Anybodys Bay on the east side of Nauru Island and also on Ocean Island.

Information regarding the distribution of the dolomitic rock in the various islands is meager, or lacking. This is probably due to the fact that the specimens collected were not recognised as dolomites at the time. Skeats (30, pp.71, 75) gives some valuable information based on field work by E. C. Andrews in Fiji, by Agassiz in Eua, and by W. C. Andrews in Christmas Island (Indian Ocean). For these islands, however, the distribution of dolomite is considered from the vertical, rather than from the horizontal direction, as was necessarily also done at Funafuti.

CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF MAKATEA ROCK

The following analyses were made of a number of specimens collected from the Makatea of Atiu Island:

	MgCo ₃	CaCo ₃
Crust on Lithothamnium ridge.....	73.09	14.53
Proportions in stony matter.....	83.42	16.59
Lithothamnium ridge, 3 ft. from surface	84.69	6.66
Oneroa, 1200 yds. from beach	61.30	40.10
Oneroa, 300 yds. from beach	98.80	1.42
Tarapaku, inner side of Makatea	59.10	40.20
Vai Piake, inner side of Makatea	57.51	42.86
Tumai, 700 yds. from inner side	97.73	2.15
Tumai, 1000 yds. from inner side	99.42	0.56
Te Miro, 300 yds. from inner side	85.41	13.67
Te Miro, in same specimen 10 cm. distant.....	68.64	31.12

By observing the effect of dilute hydrochloric acid and of dilute acetic acid on the specimens that had been analysed it was found that the extent to which dolomitization had proceeded could be roughly estimated without resorting to actual analysis. These tests showed that the rock on the inner side of the Makatea all around the island was generally converted into dolomite though here and there specimens were found that had undergone no change. The tests also showed a definite and gradual decrease in dolomitization from the inner towards the outer side of the Makatea, though at any one point, as shown by the analyses of a sample from Te Miro, highly magnesian limestone can be found in close association with material that is almost unaffected.

In order to study the details of this chemical change more closely a resort was made to staining. The method of staining with aluminium chloride and logwood as used by Lemberg (20) was found quite satisfactory for microscopic preparations. Staining with a deposit of silver chromate was also tried—a method which afterwards was found to have been used by Lemberg (20, p. 23) and strongly recommended by Cayeux (4, p. 183). This method

of Makatea was reached, that is, about two-thirds of its width from its inner margin, it was found that the amount of magnesia was as low as that in the material of the living reef, and that this condition extended to the outer edge of the Makatea. In other words, the outer third of the Makatea ring is formed of unchanged limestone while the inner two-thirds is formed of dolomitic limestone which is nearly pure dolomite at the inner edge of the Makatea but contains a gradually increasing percentage of calcium carbonate as the inner edge is left behind, and contains hardly any magnesium carbonate when the highest point of the Makatea has been reached.

It seems that these facts may lead the way to an understanding of the conditions that promote the change from the limestone of a coral reef to dolomite. At Mangaia, after the last movement of elevation, the base of the Makatea was for a long time subject to the wash of the sea water; until the reef had grown outward to a considerable extent. At Atiu the inner side of the Makatea was submerged for a long period which continued while the coral reef which now constitutes the Makatea grew outwards 500 yards; for at this distance from the beach it now has its greatest elevation. While the reef was growing outward a shallow lagoon was formed between the reef edge and the shore. The landward part of the reef which was formed first and afterwards became the floor of the small lagoon was subject to rapid circulation of water from the surf that broke over the reef edge which all the time was slowly extending seawards.

The dolomite at the foot of the outer edge of the Makatea at Mangaia was also subject to the circulation of sea water for a lengthened period. Here the rapid uprise of the island which was responsible for the outer cliff face of the Makatea would have raised some of the marginal growing surface of the reef from a depth of 15 fathoms to sea level. The organisms that were growing there would have been killed by the surf in their new station; the limestone of which their skeletons were formed would be subject to the constant action of the surf while the reef margin slowly grew outward at the new level.

On the other hand, since the inner edge of the Makatea is its highest part, no portion of the surface of the rising reef would be subject to the prolonged action of the circulating sea water during elevation. The lagoon separated from the sea by the gradual elevation of the Makatea would contain water almost still and of less salinity than sea water. This condition would obviously not permit the formation of dolomite from the limestone on the surface of the inner cliff of the Makatea if the circulation of sea water as suggested is the true cause of the change.

This explanation of the origin of dolomite by mere circulation of sea water at surface pressure in oceanic islands cannot be applied to the rocks studied by Skeats (29) because of the lack of accurate knowledge of distri-

bution of the rocks and of the geological history of the islands in which they are found. This remark applies also to Funafuti where nothing is known of the areal distribution of the dolomite and for which information as to the vertical distribution is restricted to the results obtained from a single bore.

SOIL

All the spaces between the projections on the rough surface of the Makatea are filled with a red earth at Atiu to the same extent as at Mangaia, forming a soil of great fertility. Its composition is shown in Table 3, which includes analyses of similar material from Mangaia and other islands.

TABLE 3. ANALYSES OF MAKATEA SOILS

	1	2	3	4	5
Si O ₂	9.80	8.84	2.23	5.0	5.0
Al ₂ O ₃	23.85	19.70	9.25	2.5	25.9
Fe ₂ O ₃	25.13	31.71	4.15		7.4
Ca O	2.75	1.60	30.36	32.5	
TiO ₂	5.42	5.10			
P ₂ O ₅	2.55	2.48	27.37	39.0	38.5
Loss on ignition	30.60	30.80	25.34	20.0	20.0
Total	100.10	100.26	98.70	99.0	96.8

1. Makatea soil from Taunganui, Atiu Island. Sample from near the road 600 yards from the beach. A sample from Vai Pika contained 4.47 per cent P₂O₅; Marshall (this paper).
2. Makatea soil from Mangaia; Marshall (25, p. 23).
3. Phosphate deposits from Walpole Island; Wright (39, p. 93).
4. Soil from Murray Hill, Christmas Island; Andrews (1, p. 291).
5. Phosphatized rock from Clipperton Island; Teall (34, p. 231).

To account for this material is difficult. The first explanation that comes to mind is that this soil has been derived from volcanic ash spread over the Makatea by volcanic action, and subsequently changed by laterization. But this explanation is unsatisfactory. In the first place the summit plateau of Atiu, the form of which is due to marine planation, must have been developed before the Makatea was in existence. If a depression sufficient to permit the planation of the summit had taken place after the Makatea had been formed, the long continued wave action would have covered the Makatea with material derived from the plateau, and would have filled all of the depression now occupied by the swamp. Again volcanic activity of an explosive nature would certainly have spread out the fine grained products unevenly, whereas the soil is distributed evenly over the Makatea though it is rather thinner on the outer than on the inner portion, especially at Oneroa. This explanation also fails to account for the high percentage of phosphoric acid.

The only explanation that seems to hold is that the soil represents the accumulated excrement of water birds, especially of duck. The widely ranging *Anas superciliosa* is found on the island and was at one time probably

abundant; for during the period while the outer third of the Makatea was being formed, a large area of brackish water stood between the Makatea and the volcanic core. As pointed out in the account of Mangaia (25) the excreta of the duck contains much inorganic matter, which in the course of ages might accumulate to form a thick deposit. It is known that the huge deposits of calcium phosphate at Nauru, Makatea, and other islands is derived from the excreta of sea birds, and it is thus reasonable to assign the red earth of the Makatea at Atiu to this source.

PALAEONTOLOGY

The general conversion of the material of the inner part of the Makatea into dolomite has naturally obscured to a great extent the characteristic features of the organisms of which it is composed. However, the outlines of many of their skeletons can still be distinguished in the thin dirt line which so persistently surrounds the "ghosts" of the fossils.

No remains of *Lepidocyclus* could be found though it is almost certain that such structures could be recognized even in the most dolomitized rock. The few pieces of relatively unaltered rock found in the inner portion of the Makatea contain a good deal of *Gypsina communis*. This species occurs also at Mangaia, but only in the outer part of the Makatea. Though a slender basis for correlation, the presence of this fossil in corresponding positions on the two islands suggests that the inner part of the Makatea at Atiu is approximately the same age as the outer part of this formation at Mangaia. At Atiu *Operculina* and *Amphistegina* are common; *Rotalia* is not rare; *Polytremma* is found everywhere; *Lithothamnium* is abundant, though less so than at Mangaia; *Halimeda* is rare. Corals make up a large portion of the rock and echinoid remains are everywhere to be seen. The material of the small cliffs on the coast is not of great age; in some places the aragonite of the corals is unchanged, and *Halimeda* retains its brownish tint in sections.

The evidence points to the probability that coral reef growth began in the early Pliocene and has continued without interruption till the present day.

CAVES

The Makatea at Atiu Island is perforated by numerous caves some of which are as much as 500 yards in length. Several of them have been used for burials, which on occasions have been disturbed by Europeans. This has annoyed the natives, who, fearing vandalism, refuse to allow visitors to enter some of the caves. It is said that at one time during local fighting, a whole tribe took refuge in one of the caves and after wandering about in it were lost, and never emerged, probably a grossly exaggerated story. In some of the caves stalactites are abundant. Huge specimens have been broken off, carried some miles and employed in building the platforms in front of the houses of

chiefs. They have been used also in the construction of the walls of some maraes. Where thus used, they have been merely piled one on top of another in horizontal positions without any attempt at shaping. Some large stalactites were seen on the central plateau in the village of Tengtangi. In transportation these huge pieces were tied to saplings and carried by large numbers of men. There is no indication that the stalactites were used in building the more elaborate structures such as those for which the basaltic columns at Kusaie Island were employed. In fact, throughout the Cook Islands no attempt was made to construct permanent buildings or fortifications except at Arorangi, Rarotonga, where some large phonolite boulders have been roughly piled together for defensive purposes.

The cave most easily accessible is Taketake, situated on the southwest side of the island near the track to the Vai Piake landing. This cave is entered from the surface of the Makatea at a point about 500 yards from its inner edge, where an irregular opening some 25 feet deep may be descended by means of a ladder. Within the cave stalactites and stalagmites are greatly developed. The roof of the cave must be near the surface of the Makatea for its highest point is not more than 75 feet above sea level. In one or two places, daylight can be seen through crevices in the roof. The floor of the cave is very uneven and in places is slightly terraced. No water flows on it. In places on the floor are a number of small rounded nodules of aragonite, $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, somewhat vesicular, and concentrically zoned. Their surface is slightly rough, partly due to the projecting ends of small crystals and partly to irregular intersecting crevices. These aragonite nodules are somewhat irregularly arranged and only a few are attached to the floor. They do not seem to be related to the formation of stalactites. They lie on a wet floor but at the time of my visit though wet all over, they were not wholly immersed in the water. They are all stained with iron oxide derived from the soil that covers the surface of the Makatea. The cave was visited at the end of the wet season. It is possible that its floor is dry during the dry season, and that the nodules are formed from the calcium carbonate that had been in solution in the water that covered the floor.

Taketake cave may have been an original passage in the reef. In the reef that now surrounds the island many fissures extend almost from the margin of the reef to the shore line. Though at the surface these fissures are nearly closed by the growth of reef forming organisms, at a greater depth many of them open out into large spaces. It is probable that whatever may be the origin of these fissures the growth that takes place on their floors and sides is much slower than that on the roof, or on the surface of the reef. On the whole the fissures seem to have their maximum development on those portions of the reef where the sea is heaviest.

It was expected that the caves would prove to have been formed by the

dissolving action of percolating water, or by streams, and it was a surprise to find little or no evidence for this origin. The floor of the cave seems to be a surface of deposition rather than solution, and no evidence could be found that there had at any time been a flow of water through it. The floor of the cave seems to be at a higher level than that of the water in the swamp.

At Ivirua, Mangaia, a cave 100 feet below the surface of the Makatea, seems to have been a channel through which water passed outwards from the old lagoon when the water level was 30 feet higher than now. For a considerable part of its length, it is not more than 6 feet wide and 10 feet high, but its direction changes frequently and the floor rises and falls. The rocks on the sides of the cave are rounded and there are few stalactites. It is said that this passage leads out to the beach about 5 feet above high water mark. In form and appearance this cave at Ivirua is wholly different from the cave at Taketake, which has a high roof in places broken through, an uneven floor, and sides formed of angular rock.

THE SWAMP

On Atiu, the Makatea ends abruptly at its inner edge around the whole circumference of the island. At Kuekue it terminates in a cliff about 20 feet high and 150 feet long; elsewhere it rises gently.

But though the abrupt precipice which characterizes the Makatea of Mangaia Island is lacking, the boundary between the Makatea and the swamp is everywhere well defined. Inland from the Makatea, the even surface of the swamp is maintained for varying distances to the foot of the volcanic ground, and in places extends for a quarter of a mile into the valleys of the small streams that flow from the central plateau.

In many places, especially on the south side of the island, the spurs of the volcanic ground extend to the edge of the Makatea, but even in these places they sink to the level of the swamp water before the Makatea is reached. These spur ends provide convenient routes for the native paths which lead from the volcanic ground to the Makatea, and on to the beach. In the southern part of the island, the swamp is represented only by a slight depression, in which bananas are grown. In those parts of the swampy ground where the water in the streams flows sufficiently to prevent stagnation, the conditions are favorable for taro cultivation. Some of the ground is used for that purpose, generally that on the inner side only, near the points where the streams enter the swamps. Otherwise the swampy ground is waste land, covered with a growth of rush and other water weeds. The surface of the swamp is 20 to 30 feet above sea level. In the wet season the swamp contains considerable water, but the small Lake Tirioto is the only permanent sheet of water with a surface free from growth of weeds. It is said that in

rough weather salt water is sometimes driven from the reef into the lake through subterranean passages.

There are no conspicuous sink holes by means of which the water of the swampy area can pass into channels through the Makatea. The wetness of the swampy ground shows that channels through the Makatea afford less easy passage for the outflow of water than they do at Mangaia Island.

THE VOLCANIC CORE

Only in a few places is the volcanic ground in Atiu directly connected with the limestone of the Makatea. Over most of the circuit of the island swampy ground intervenes between the two.

The summit of the volcanic ground is a nearly flat area of two square miles at an altitude of 270 feet above sea level, though its peripheral portions are 56 feet lower than the central part. This plateau is deeply dissected by valleys which radiate outwards to the coast line. The head waters of streams flowing to opposite sides of the island have left but a narrow ridge between them. Remnant lobes of the plateau of considerable size separate the middle courses of the radiating streams, and near the circumference of the plateau attain a considerable width.

As compared with Mangaia where only a small portion of the plateau remains, it is obvious that the plateau on Atiu is still in the early stages of dissection. The streams have eroded deep, steep-sided valleys. The larger valleys have flat floors which extend a quarter of a mile back from the apices of the spurs.

Notwithstanding the transporting power of the heavy tropical rainfall, the weathering of the rock has proceeded far more rapidly than its removal. The explanation of this may be the same as that which was offered for similar conditions in Mangaia; the matted rhizomes of *Gleichenia dichotoma* on the ground combined with the dense canopy of its foliage protect the soil to such an extent as to almost prevent the removal of the surface material by rainfall; at the same time the growth of the *mape* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) in the stream valleys protects their floors so effectively with its matted roots that erosive action of streams is almost stopped.

The weathering of the basalt is apparently the same as that in Mangaia where it has produced a partial laterization of the rock.

No patches of limestone were found anywhere on the volcanic rock and their absence as well as the absence of fossil shells justifies the opinion that the uplift of the plateau from the level at which it was formed by marine erosion took place so soon after its development that no marine life had migrated to it, and no masses of limestone had been formed.

Small terraces are to be seen on the flanks of the volcanic hill. The one most strongly developed stands at the same altitude as the highest part of the Makatea (70 feet above sea level) and is more or less general on the distal portion of the spurs all around the island. A less pronounced terrace appears in places some 30 feet lower. These terraces must mark levels of marine erosion as they are far more extensive and continuous than those that have been excavated by the natives to serve as platforms for their houses. The lower terrace, which is extremely fragmentary, marks the sea level before the old fringing reef, now the Makatea, began its growth. The upper one marks the level of marine erosion at the period of maximum subsidence when, perhaps owing to relatively rapid downward movement, the reef, for the time, did not provide protection for the coast sufficient to prevent it from suffering from wave action.

The apparent absence of beach matter of organic origin on the slopes of the volcanic ground implies a considerable difference in the conditions that prevailed while the Makatea was being formed from those now existing at Huaheine and Raiatea islands, where there are fringing reefs or coral beaches as well as the barrier reefs. In parts of Tahiti, however, and on the coast of north Queensland, marginal fringing reefs are absent, and there are no coral beaches for considerable distances along the coast line. It may be that where the coast line provides much inorganic detritus there is no marginal growth of coral.

There is no indication of any eruption of the central volcano after the growth of the Makatea had begun. In no place do the volcanic spurs invade the Makatea, nor do they spread out where they reach its margin. Furthermore, the surface of the Makatea is not covered with scoriaceous volcanic matter as Chubb (6, p. 309) found at Rurutu Island. The red soil on the surface of the Makatea has quite a different origin.

As shown on the map (fig. 8), the plateau with its lobes between the stream valleys extends over all the central part of the island; it is possible to walk for a distance of two and a half miles north to south, and of two miles east to west on almost level ground. This level area was originally, and in large part still is, covered with the fern *Gleichenia dichotoma* through which rise a considerable number of toa trees; which frequent burning of the vegetation on the plateau prevents from attaining any large size. The rocks of which this plateau is composed are deeply weathered and the material has been converted into a dark red, unctuous clay which in wet weather is particularly adhesive. In the clay small nodules of ilimonite are common, and manganese oxide is also found. Here and there, particularly on the northeast slopes of the island, some roots of the *Gleichenia* fern have become silicified, but no large masses of flinty silica were found on the surface as in Mangaia Island.

In places the paths that have been made by the natives in walking from their homes to their taro patches, or to the fishing grounds, have been washed out by the rain into deep gutters. Here and there, the structure of the plateau is revealed on the high banks even though the rock has been entirely changed. All the original rock seen is fragmentary and scoriaceous and in places the same structure is shown on the sides of the steep ravines that the streams have excavated in the plateau. The heads of these valleys are abrupt and in a few places unaltered rock may be seen in dikes. A dike at the bottom of the Waikakaia, and another in the village of Teenui, at the head of the Topuriri Valley, consist of rather coarse-grained basalt. In the marae visited by Captain Cook are some blocks of a fine grained basalt but their source could not be ascertained. It seems that all of the rock of which Atiu Island is formed is basaltic. No indication was found of phonolitic rocks that have such a wide distribution in Rarotonga, nor of nepheline basalts such as are found in Aitutaki.

DESCRIPTION OF ROCKS

All of the volcanic rocks found on Atiu have proved to be basalts. The ordinary type of rock illustrated by that in the dike near the source of the Waikakaia, is coarse-grained with large idiomorphs of a brown augite, some of which are conspicuously zoned, the outer zone having the higher extinction angle. Large idiomorphs of olivine are somewhat less abundant, but most of this mineral is changed to serpentine though talc is also present. The few phenocrysts of feldspar have an extinction angle, which shows that they have the composition Ab 35 An 65. The groundmass consists mainly of colorless augite with some microlites of feldspar and many euhedrons of magnetite. There are a number of round gas pores filled with secondary minerals. The lining of many pores is hyalite, perhaps with a little chaledony, but the central portion is filled with calcite.

This rock has a specific gravity of 3.16, but is less basic than the coarse-grained basalts of Mangaia and Rarotonga, which contain no phenocrysts of feldspar. It would appear to fall in the group of "basaltes labradoriques" of Lacroix (19, p. 61) of a less basic composition than his ankaramites and oceanites.

The fine grained rock from the Orongo Marae, the exact origin of which is not known, is still less basic and comes near the "basalte andesitique" from the Marquesas as defined by Lacroix. The structure is that called "intersertal" by Rosenbusch, the augite and feldspar of which the rock is almost entirely composed of equal dimensions. There are some isometric idiomorphs of magnetite. The first mineral to crystallize was the magnetite, followed in

turn by the few larger grains of augite, the feldspar laths, and the minute irregular augite, and feldspar with some minute grains and needles of magnetite.

As shown in the following analysis, the basalt from Atiu contains a relatively high percentage of silica and of lime. Similar rocks have been described by Lacroix (19) from the Marquesas and other Pacific islands.

SiO ₂	46.60	46.68
Al ₂ O ₃	14.68	15.01
Fe ₂ O ₃	9.82	6.35
FeO	4.61	5.44
MgO	5.08	4.30
CaO	10.05	9.84
Na ₂ O	2.14	3.13
K ₂ O	1.74	1.51
TiO ₂	1.42	4.20
P ₂ O ₅	0.36	0.47
H ₂ O	2.20	3.10

1. Basalt. Orongo Marae, Atiu Island; Marshall (this paper).
2. "Basalte andesitique" from Nukuhiva, Marquesas Islands: Lacroix (19, p. 42). Many other analyses of similar rocks are given in this paper by Lacroix.

GEOLOGICAL HISTORY

Like many other islands in the south central Pacific, the first appearance of Atiu Island above the surface of the water was due to volcanic action. The result of this activity was the formation of an island which measured approximately 3 miles in diameter. At a time when the level of the ocean surface was 270 feet higher than now, or the floor of the ocean 270 feet lower, the island was composed of fragmental volcanic matter. As at Mangaia, wave action soon reduced Atiu to the condition of a shoal. Slow elevation then took place until the sea level was perhaps 50 feet lower than now, and there was considerable atmospheric erosion of the platform that had been formed by marine planation.

After this had proceeded to a considerable extent, the formation of a coral reef began. At the same time the volcanic slopes became covered with a thick mat-like mantle of *Gleichenia dichotoma* which held the surface together and prevented the removal of the clay which had been derived from the action of the atmosphere on the volcanic rock. The thickness of clay thus preserved from removal, in time became considerable. The fringing reef of coral which began to develop after the erosion had produced most of the stream valleys, soon protected the shore line and gradually extended outwards.

Slow subsidence continued and as the coral reef grew outwards, each successive portion was higher than that interior to it. These relative actions continued until the reef had become 600 yards wide. The movement was then reversed, the negative condition being apparently succeeded without any in-

terval by positive; though the movement was extremely slow. The reef was able to maintain its outward extension without modification while positive movement continued. It has a surface, which, though irregular, on the average slopes seaward at a small angle.

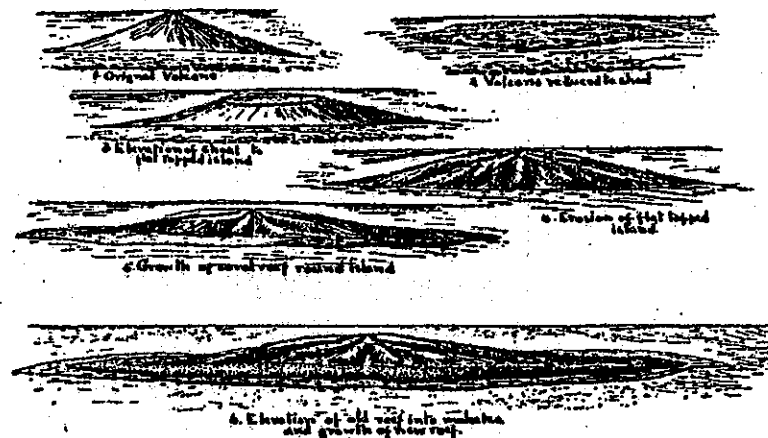


FIGURE 13.—Sketches illustrating the geological development of Atiu Island.

For a considerable time still-stand conditions then prevailed and the attack of the sea was maintained at a constant level, and has now eroded a small marginal cliff which overlooks the reef flat.

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SOME NOTES ON ATIU ISLAND,
COOK GROUP, SOUTH PACIFIC.

BY MAJOR J. T. LARGE.

THIS fertile island, one of the largest in the Cook Group, one hundred and twenty miles from Rarotonga, has a population of about eight hundred natives. The central hill, on the tree and palm covered flat-top of which the settlements are located, is about four hundred feet high; the white stone L.M.S. Church standing by itself, being a very conspicuous object far out at sea. Surrounding the central hill is a belt of two swamps and low lying lands, on which are groves of coconuts, oranges, in fact all tropical productions grow there luxuriantly.

From here, extending towards the coast, all round the island is the Makatea, a confused jumble of upheaved jagged coral rocks of all shapes and sizes. Most difficult to travel over, interspersed with "pockets" and bits of good soil, the whole covered with a luxuriant forest of trees, shrubs, ferns, and under-growth. This Makatea—unlike that at Mangaia, which is a huge rampart rising to one hundred and fifty feet high—is nowhere more than forty or fifty feet above sea level. The flat sloping coast lands, all round the islands, are well adapted for growing coconuts except part of the south side where the Makatea extends to the coast. (There are more waste lands fit for plantation purposes on Atiu than on any other island of the group.) The coast—like that of Mangaia—is an iron bound one; the cliffs, their bases hollowed out by the sea, overhang the reef all round the island.

It is a curious fact that the people of Atiu, though they retain a knowledge of the history of their island generally, and of the names, sequence, and leading events in the careers of their remote ancestors, have lost the names of the ancestral canoes, and state that their forefathers either originated in Atiu, begotten by the gods, or like Utakienna swam hither across the ocean.

Tuia Akapira the fine old *Mataiapo* (chief) of Te Enni Settlement contributes a few items of Atiuan history:—Utakienna* the great great grandson of Te Erue—who was a descendant of the god Tangaroa of Ayaiki—along with his friend Tara, came to Atiu from across

* Also a great ancestor of Aitutaki from whom that island was named.

the sea to the district of Tongatangi. Tutuiva was the ruler of the land at that time. Utatakienna humbled himself before the daughters of Tutuiva, he and his companion Tara, by saying:—"We have come as the foam of the sea on to the land of our parents, who are exalting themselves above us." These two notables then feeling ashamed went away to Mauke. Ere long they returned to Atiu, landing at Oruvato, on the west side of the island, whence Utatakienna sent a message to a chief inland, named Ikuvao, saying:—"I am out of breath at Tonoaia.* I hold in my hand the head of Tamatiti Ariki." Tutuiva fled to Rarotonga. Utatakienna thus established his rule on Atiu by killing the ancient people of the island. He lived at Mokooro, where his *marae* and the ancient burial cave named Te Anakura—of his Ariki descendants—may be seen; and from this sacred spot the rule of Utatakienna over Atiu was named "Te au o Mokooro," which carried on and extended by the Arikis descended from him, existed down to the annexation of the Cook Island by the British Government.

The tenth Ariki in descent from Utatakienna named Tuknata espoused the woman Papani to Eiau, a descendant of Mariri, a very ancient ancestor of the Atiu people—like Te Erue said to have been of divine origin. Their son Te Ruanta thus united in his person rival lines of ancestry hitherto in deadly enmity. He is spoken of as a good Ariki, and the island enjoyed profound peace under his rule. His grandson, Rongomatane Ngaakanra—a small island Napoleon in his way—took a terrible revenge on Mauke because an Atiuan chief, named Akaina, who had abducted the wife of a Mauke chief, was killed by the incensed husband. This Rongomatane with a host of Atiuan warriors crossed over to Mauke in a fleet of eighty war canoes. The Mauke people in the most cowardly fashion fled to their caves and thickets, without striking a blow in their own defence, whence most of them were hauled out by their conquerors, and were made to prepare the ovens in which they themselves were to be cooked. When all was ready the wretched victims, men, women, and children were clubbed, dismembered, and baked. After the Atiuans had gorged themselves to repletion on this disgusting food, they returned to their own island, their canoes laden with baked human flesh, wherewith to regale their wives and children at Atiu.

On leaving, one of their number Tararo (ancestor of the present chief of the same name at Mauke) was placed in charge. The remnant of the fugitives emerged from the inmost recesses of the caves where they had been hiding, and after putting the bones of their eaten relatives out of sight, they rebuilt their huts: ere long under the leadership of a man named Maiti they actually—well knowing what

* A famous Tou tree on the track going inland from the landing place.

would be the result eventually—turned against the small party of Atiuans, killed several including the father of Tararo, the latter now becoming a fugitive hiding amongst the trees and rocks, where ere long he was joined by one of his men named Kairae, who after a time succeeded one night in launching a small canoe in which he started for Atiu to get assistance, going the usual course by way of Mitiaro thirty miles distant, and after a rest the remaining twenty-seven miles to Atiu. Fierce anger was excited by the news he brought. Rongomatane with a strong force soon left for Mauke again, where on arrival Maiti and his warriors were cooked and eaten; but on this occasion the women and children were spared. Tararo who had escaped from his enemies was again left in charge of Mauke, and the Atiuans returned home. But before these events took place on Mauke, Rongomatane had conquered Mitiaro, attacking that island with an overwhelming force, while the inhabitants were suffering from a sort of epidemic. The brave warriors of Mitiaro—unlike the mean-spirited men of Mauke, who are still twitted for their want of courage—held their stronghold Te Pari against the invaders, till it was captured by stratagem; the usual cannibal feast followed. The so-called Arikis of Mauke and Mitiaro, from that time onward held their positions as feudatories at the pleasure of the Arikis of Atiu. These three adjacent islands—a group within a group—were known in those days as Ngaputuru. From the accounts handed down from generation to generation they were in frequent communication with Rarotonga and other islands to the westward, and with Tahiti and neighbouring islands to the eastward, by means of their large double canoes, and a knowledge of navigation, which their degenerate descendants, who now travel by steamers and sailing vessels, have lost. In those ancient days all these islands had different names from those of later times: Atiu was known as Te Eua Manu; Mauke as Akatoka-Manava; Mitiaro as Nukuroa; Rarotonga as Tumute Varavaro; Mangaia as Aua; Aitutaki as Te Ariura; while the small Atiu territory, Takutea Island—only twelve miles from here—was Arauna. My informant, Akapira, mentions in regard to the latter dot—of which he is recognised in Atiu as the principal owner—that it was Mariri who changed its name to Takutea from the circumstance of his eating a fish named the *ku* there. Another ancestor Munatu dug the only well of fresh (or rather brackish) water on the island which he called Vaipiro from its lead odour, a name which it bears to this day.

The great ancestor Tangianni Ariki, who after he had defeated his brother, Tutapu-aru-ron, at Rarotonga—with the assistance of Kavira Ariki—settled down there permanently, appears to have left his mark on all these islands, which he visited from time to time. While at Atiu he established a *marae*, which he called Taputapuataea (between Rongomatane's enclosure and the present court-house in the

settlement) after the greatest *marae* of the same name in the South Seas at Raiatea, one of the Avaikis of his race. A very important focus of tribal activity and incantation here was the *marae* of the god Rongo (after Tangaroa, the greatest divinity of these islands in heathen times), situated close to the Tanuganui landing place. Another fine *marae*, in good preservation, is Wairakaia, below Rongomatane's settlement Tongatangi, and close to the track leading to the East Coast of the island.

Atiu, like Mangaia (of which it is the counterpart), is perforated with caves. A very fine one on the south side of the island is Poautou, the entrance to which is a pit, down which you descend by a ladder; it has numerous winding passages, and chambers with stalactites, etc. It is famous as the retreat, many generations ago, of a tribe of the ancient people of Atiu, named Ngautua, who were foredoomed by the ruling power of the island, "Te Au o Mokoero" (above mentioned) to extinction. They fled into the uttermost recesses of this cave and were never seen afterwards; their fate remains a mystery. At the time they disappeared another kindred tribe, named Ngatitiorau, and their chief Tane Kakerangi, were ambushed and destroyed by the Mokoero clan, Ngatitamaton, under Te Maua. The victors searched everywhere for Tane's son, Ngurau, who eluded his enemies by being hidden in hollow trees. When he grew up to man's estate he succeeded by stratagem in killing Te Maua, thus avenging his father's death, and his party—the ancient people—gaining the ascendancy he became in turn the ruling chief of the island. It was not till Te Runautu Ariki, some generations afterwards, defeated Te Ranginui that Atiu was finally united under "Te Au o Mokoero." Another extensive and famous cave on the east side of the island is Te Aua Takotake. It has many branches with different entrances; contains a small lake and other curious features. The following interesting story is related in connection with this cave. Inutoto and her husband, Paroro, went to one of the island dances. The former was adorned in the usual heathen fashion of those days, and attracted the attention of a man who made love to her, which Paroro perceiving he beat his wife unmercifully. (This is the native fashion of avenging an affair of this kind on the unfortunate wife, whether guilty or not; the male offender invariably escaping punishment.) Poor Inutoto fled to the Makatea and found her way to Te Aua Takotake by the help of her god Tu-te-rangi-Marama. The now sorrowing husband searched everywhere for her, but in vain, and finally gave her up for lost. Months passed away, Inutoto living by herself and subsisting on wild fruits and roots, particularly the wild yam, Maraurau, which she was able to find in the vicinity. During her solitary life here she composed a lament for her husband, which is well-known. I give a rough and abbreviated translation:—

O propitious gods
Direct the winds, to carry
My longing to my husband.
The Mnoaks (N.E. wind) celebrated
Our nuptials. Arise east wind
And tell Paroro to come hither
To take his loving wife home.
Month after month thinking of thee
O Tu (the god, make calm the sea
That the canoe may return to its resting place.
My elder sister calls, "Remain you here
'Till they speak well of thee
In the sacred precincts of Tangaroa."
O brother Ngurau Ariki
Let me stand at Tauera, and invoke
The god Kankura, when Inu's head
Will be crowned with a pure Ariki.*

Inu's god Tu heard her lament and inspired a bird—the kingfisher—to carry the message to Paroro. The bird flew in front of Paroro, and its peculiar cry attracted his attention. He enquired of the bird, "Have you come for me?" The bird nodded three times yes. He again enquired, "Shall we both go?" The bird again nodded. Paroro and his friends followed their feathered guide to Te Auatakake (which does not appear to have been known to them before) where they found Inutoto, and husband and wife were joyfully reunited.

In my article on Ruatapu, published in the Journal some years ago, I mentioned how that redoubtable ancestor had visited Atiu and engaged in the arduous task of improving the landing place at Tanuganui (by chipping the rocky slope leading down thereto—Te Tukinga) at the request of Renga the Ariki of the island. In the same article it was related that Ruatapu's descendant Marouna called at Atiu in quest of warriors wherewith to make war on the Aitu, a strange tribe who had taken possession of Aitutaki and ousted his grandfather Maonakura the Ariki of that island. Marouna obtained one warrior at Atiu named Tara-apai (the *marae* of this *toa* in the district of Mapu-mai here is still pointed out by his tribe), with the aid of the braves Marouna obtained in the different islands he succeeded in delivering Aitutaki from the yoke of the Aitu whom he destroyed, and in restoring his grandfather to his dignity and possessions.

It is singular that Captain Cook in his voyages through these seas discovered only three islands in this group, Mangaia, Atiu, and Manua. Cook himself did not set foot on this island, but his first-officer, Lieut. Gore, with an armed party landed at Orivaro on the east side. They were well received by the people, who looked upon the white strangers as a divine race, "the hidden sons of Te Tumu."

* A chief's head-dress of feathers.

conducting them inland to Mokooro, where Tiaputu, the head chief of the island at that time, and his people accorded them great honours and hospitality; entertaining them with songs and dances. They purposed indeed, to detain their guests on the island, by force if necessary, but Mai, the Tahitian interpreter of the party, gave the natives such a terrifying account of the prowess of the seamen, and the deadly nature of their firearms, that the Atiuans desisted from their purpose. Those natives also who went off to the "Resolution" and "Discovery" were astounded with all they saw on board those ships, so different from anything in their own experience. Those islanders have a tradition that a god called Tanemai-tai (Tane from the sea) went away at some remote period with the intention of returning. The size and armament of Cook's vessels, coming from the outer world, the strange appearance (to them) of the white men led these ignorant savages to regard the great navigator as their lost Tanemai-tai, and they were prepared to pay him divine honours. In "Cook's Voyages," they are supposed to have remained only one day at "Wateoo" (as they term this island), but the natives say three, as they regard the two days spent by Cook in taking in coconuts at the Atiuan islet of Takuten, near by, as time devoted to Atiu. Amongst the many presents given by Captain Cook and his party to these islanders was the interpreter Mai's kuri (dog), which was adopted as an ancestor by a section of the Ngatiarua people, who are known to this day as the Ngatikuri tribe.

In "Williams's Missionary Enterprises" a good account is given of the first visit to Atiu of that great and benevolent missionary John Williams (who afterwards met a martyr's death at Eromanga). The Rev. Mr. Williams, who came in his vessel from the chief station of the London Missionary Society at Raiatea in 1823, first called at Aitutaki, where he had on a previous visit left a couple of Native teachers. He found that during the interim, the Aitutakians had burnt some of their idols and given up others into the hands of the Native teachers. They had all embraced Christianity, and erected a new chapel, which the Revs. Williams and Burne opened the day following their arrival. Mr. Williams and party then left Aitutaki; spent some days in searching for Rarotonga—then undiscovered—but without success; called at Mangata to land two Native teachers and their wives—these unfortunates on landing met with such abominable treatment, being nearly torn to pieces, robbed, and their wives outraged, that Mr. Williams had to take them on board again, and leave the island to its own heathen devices. The Missionary vessel then called at Atiu, where he found that two Native teachers, who had been sent there from Raiatea some time before to induce these natives to give up idolatry, had not made any converts; on the contrary, they had been robbed of all their

property, and nearly starved. Very soon a large double canoe, commanded by a Maori of distinguished appearance, seated on an elevated stage, was seen approaching the vessel. He turned out to be Rongomatane Ariki, the high chief of the island, the one who two and three years before had led the Atiuans in their murderous cannibal raids on Mauke and Mitiaro, when the unfortunate people of those islands were nearly exterminated. Soon after he reached the vessel *Tamatoa* Ariki, of Aitutaki, who was accompanying Williams to Raiatea, took him on one side, told him all that had been done in Aitutaki, showed him their idols lying ignominiously in a heap in the ship's hold, all of which, combined with Williams's exhortations during the night he remained on board the Missionary vessel, had such a powerful effect on Rongomatane's mind that he became a convert at once. By his influence also idolatry was forthwith abolished at Atiu, teachers established to instruct the people, while soon after churches and schools were built. Not only that, he accompanied and showed the Missionary vessel the way to Mitiaro and Mauke, where he personally effected the same transformation in the state of those islands. Thus were the three islands—"Ngaputuru"—christianised in a few weeks by the great Maua of Rongomatane Ariki. On the return of the Missionary vessel to Atiu, Williams enquired of Rongomatane if he knew anything about Rarotonga. The latter assured him that it took them a day and a half to go there. He got Williams to sail the vessel round to their starting point, where he showed him the direction to take to Rarotonga, which Williams on his subsequent return to Atiu, after he had discovered the former island, found was the true compass course S.W. by W. (In all these islands they have a fixed starting point for this purpose, which is the *ava* or landing place in the most direct line with the island they wish to go to. In olden times they steered by the land marks, while they were visible, then by the stars, sun, etc. Now they use the mariner's compass.) Williams made several visits to "Ngaputuru" afterwards. On one of these he went to Mitiaro to open a new church there, he remarked that the building was far too big for the number of people. He was told in reply: "Had you come here three years earlier, and saved us from the Atiuan invasion, you would have found this building much too small to hold all the people of the island." On the day that the Missionary vessel first visited Atiu, these predatory natives conspired to capture the ship. When Rongomatane heard of this scheme, he said to them in memorable words that are frequently quoted (the following is a free translation):—

"Who will order an attack on these gods from the lower world?

Will an ignorant people (like the natives) be able to cope with such a knowing race?

Behold their ship! Look at its masts,
See the innumerable maze of ropes!"

The rebuke was sufficient, nothing more was heard of the project.

Rupe, who was the L.M.S. Native Teacher on Atiu for many years in the earlier days, collected items of folk lore from the old time natives (formerly heathen), who were still alive then. The following sent to the old Mangaian Missionary, the Rev. W. Wyatt-Gill (Gilirua) are some particulars of the origin of the people of Atiu and their Arikis (the translation is mine):—

Nuku-kere-i-manu was the first Arikī of Atiu, he was sixth in descent from Te Tumu, the great original first-cause (god ancestor) of the island. The inhabitants were birds in those days, that is why the ancient name of this island was Te Enna Manu (bird-land). That was its spirit-name; its worldly name arose in this fashion, Tangaroa (the god) took Inakoia Kura (Nukukeri's aunt) to wife, and their first-born son was Atiumua, his name was subsequently adopted as the worldly name of this island. The meaning of that name is a "tiutiu," signifying the flight of Tangaroa to heaven. When Nuku-kere-i-manu died, Muriri (also descended from Tangaroa), who belonged to a senior branch, was made Arikī, thus taking precedence of Atiu Mua.

This is an ancient saying uttered by Titau, "The shadow of Ikurangi (a chief of Te Enui Settlement) was only that of a man, had it been the shadow of 'Kuekuo' (a rock near Mokuero) it would have stood and not passed away." It originated in this way: A big party of natives of the Enui and Araki districts was sent to catch Mangan (barracouta) as food for Ikurangi. They first performed their incantations at Orua (in the Akaara district); Titau, a man of no rank, caught two vena (a large fish common to the island); he gave one to Ikurangi, the other he hid in the earthen floor of his house, under his sleeping place. Ikurangi knew intuitively that Titau had caught two vena; he was angry and sent people to search for the missing fish. They looked everywhere but without success. At last they dug up the floor of Titau's house, where they found the missing vena which they took to Ikurangi, where it soon disappeared. Not long afterwards Ikurangi and his children went away to Mauke where they perished at the landing place. Hence arose Titau's saying that, "The shadow of the chief Ikurangi quickly disappeared, while that of the big rock Kuekuo lasts for ever."

There is another proverb: "The sun is declining says Katoaporo." The latter was a frugal man because his land, Mitlaro, frequently suffered from famine; he taught his children the correct use of food, that is to eat sparingly and at long intervals. To be content with a little food in the morning, and none again until evening when the sun declines.

This is a saying of the wise men of Avarau (the native name of Palmerston Island; it is also a place name in other islands): "He has two ears says Meturi. Live like the people of the land when you come to Avarau, says Peretua." This is the meaning: A certain Arikī of Mauke, named Rongo-ta-puaka, went to Avarau where he saw some fish called *Manini-Onu*, which he took a fancy to. He was told, "Do not eat those fish they are poisonous at Avarau." He gave no heed to the advice, but ate the fish and died. His two ears did not save him. It shows the folly of a stranger disregarding the advice of the people of the land.

This is a saying by Tuangauru: "Seize a man by his wrists if you want to hold him, not by his fingers, for they will slip through your grasp." Moral: Adopt the best method for accomplishing any task you take in hand.

Te Arai and Toanui, two ancient warriors of Atiu, determined to kill Ngatiuru, the dominant tribe at that time; the reason being that Ngatiuru had ill-treated their parent Mapu when he was standing before the *marae* at Arangirea. They questioned each other as to their readiness for the fray. Te Arai enquired of Toanui: "How is your courage?" Toanui replied: "Anaonua is lowly compared with my prowess, which is high above it." (Anaonua is a rocky cliff at Atia.) Toanui then asked Te Arai: "And how does your fighting power stand?" Te Arai said in reply: "Tuporoewa is small in comparison with what I can do in a battle." (Tuporoewa is a bank of earth at Atiu.) They fought the Ngatiuru and beat them, thus becoming the rulers of the land, and their words have become powerful in Atiu amongst their descendants. (At Takauroa, on the east side of Atiu, there is a red stain in the rock alongside the path leading down to the landing place, which is known as Te Mimianga o te Arai, after the above *toa*.)

This is a narrative of what befell Veia Atua, an Arikī belonging to Tahiti. Some other Arikis formed a conspiracy to slay him, and the crime was rendered easier of execution on account of a chief named Moe-tara-uri having corrupted Veia Atua's braves so that they deserted their Arikī. On the night that his enemies came to murder him a bird gave him notice of his impending fate; he started up from his sleep, and called out to his guard: "O Tutu, there is the warning cry of a torea." The treacherous Tutu replied, "Sleep, on my Arikī, it is only a torea come from feeding on inanga* at Vairua." The Arikī said, "If it had been a torea come from feeding on inanga its note would have been not so clear and piercing. (When a bird is filled with food it sings hoarsely.) Tutu's lying words were only intended to put Veia

* A small fresh-water fish similar to that of the same name in New Zealand.

Atua off his guard; that very night the Ariki was killed by Moe-tara-uri, through the treachery of his own people. Here is another Atiu story:—A party of thieves were in the habit of stealing Uakorua's tied up bunches of coconuts. His sons were afraid to repel them, and called out to their parents. The mother said to them, "I, Te Pirirau-matangi, who gave you birth have tried in vain to make you manly and courageous." She meant that all her labours to find food for them had met with no response. They were a cowardly, helpless progeny (*kope*). Though equal to the enemy—the eight sons of Tangia-nui—they ran away from them instead of fighting, and thus the family was despoiled of their food. They deserved the disgraceful term *kope*, and it would cling to them.

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AN UMU-TI (FIRE-CEREMONY) AT ATIU ISLAND, COOK GROUP.

By J. T. LARGE.

IT may interest the New Zealand members of the Polynesian Society to know that the cult of the Umu-Ti, or fire-ceremony, of tropical Polynesia is exhibited every now and again in these eastern islands, the last performance of the kind in the Cook Group taking place a few months ago in Atiu, in the settlement of Te Enui. A huge *umu* (native oven), about twenty by ten feet and some four feet deep, was dug in the earth; this was filled with logs and smaller firewood, and on top large flat stones of the *kard* variety—a kind of black basalt—were heaped. When the fire kindled underneath had become a mass of glowing embers, these stones were heated sufficiently to cook an ox—an ordinary native oven on an enormous scale. The spot was enclosed with a tall corrugated iron fence, a charge being made to witness or take part in this fire-ceremony. The proceedings were conducted by a native named Pauro Moari, a *taunga* (priest or skilled man) from Ra'iatea of the Society Group, the ancient Havaiki of the Eastern Pacific, whence originated this cult, so it is said. He was assisted by two native acolytes. When the fire had burnt down, natives, with long forked poles, raked the embers and adjusted the stones at stepping distance in two rows the length of the pit. Pauro and his two assistants, clad in gay *paraus* (waist-cloths) and decorated with garlands and wreaths of flowers, then came forward to the edge of this fiery cavity bearing in their right hands branches of the *ti* (*dracaena terminalis*), a plant with long, narrow, flax-like leaves—the ceremony being named the *Umu-Ti*, i.e., *Ti* Oven. (Anciently, the large, sweet roots of the *ti* plant were cooked in huge ovens of this description, and in the preparation of these many a wretched victim was treacherously thrust in to perish miserably in the flames—one way of squaring accounts in the course of their endless *vendettas*.) The ceremony commenced on this occasion with the reading of the portion of the scriptures relating to Shadrach and his companions going through the fiery furnace unscathed; then followed a hymn; after which Pauro and his acolytes repeated thrice, each time striking the pit with their branches of *ti*, the

following ancient incantation connected with the ceremony, laying great stress on the invocation at the end:—

E to Vaine nui* taurai
E tia i te tun, pou ia!!

O the great woman (priestess or goddess) interposer,
Stand at our backs, quell it (the fire)!!

They then, barefooted as they were, crossed the pit, stepping deliberately from stone to stone, and re-crossed lengthwise without suffering any injury. After a short interval, Pauro and his lieutenants repeated the performance, being followed on this occasion by a band of barefooted men and women from amongst the spectators, including the writer—the only European present—the injunction impressed upon us was to keep carefully to the stones, and *not to look back*. We crossed and re-crossed unharmed. A third excursion was made through this burning oven of Tophet, with the same result, which ended the proceedings. How people escape having the soles of their feet scorched to a cinder while going through this fiery ordeal is a mystery that I cannot account for. There is no doubt about the heat of the stones in these ovens; they could not be otherwise than heated to a great degree, after being hours in a great fire such as the natives make for their *umu ngaika* (lime kilns). Whether the alleged fact that a finger immersed in molten lead, provided it is first dipped in water, offers any clue in explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, I leave for scientific minds to determine. Though the stones did not feel unduly hot to our unprotected feet, some of us felt the heat on our faces, arising from the glowing embers, so great as to make our eyes water. I am told that whole pigs, etc., have been baked in some of these *Umu-Ti*s in order to show doubters the degree of heat engendered. Occasionally a person gets his (or her) feet burnt through stepping off the stones amongst the live embers. It was in this way, I believe, that Dr. Geo. Craig, at an *Umu-Ti* conducted some years ago at Rarotonga, had his feet badly scorched, as described by Colonel Gudgeon in an article published at the time. The Resident Commissioner jestingly ascribed the mishap to want of Maori *mana* on the Medico's part, as he himself passed through the ordeal unscathed. The *Umu-Ti* ceremony

* With the exception of Pele, priestess or goddess of Kilauea, the stupendous volcano in Hawaii, the above is the only instance, I believe, of a female Polynesian divinity, all the ancient gods of the race having been of the male sex.

[Major Luge is not quite right here. There are several female goddesses known to the Polynesians.—Editor.]

is conducted from time to time over a wide extent of the South Seas from Fiji to the Paumotu.

[References to the fire-walking ceremony will be found in this Journal, Vol. II., p. 105, by Miss Teaira Henry; Vol. VIII., p. 58, by Colonel Gudgeon; and p. 188 by the late Arthur Jackson of Fiji; in *Maritima* by Andrew Lang; in India and Japan, p. 190, same volume. The late Dr. Langley, secretary Smithsonian Institution, has satisfactorily explained the method and the reason why the heat does not affect the feet of the performers, but we cannot just now find the reference.—Editor.]

CANTERBURY MUSEUM TRUST BOARD

PREHISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN COOK ISLANDS

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Notes on the Prehistory of Atiu

Roger Duff

Potipoti 'enua, ko Atiu, 'enua - manu,
'E va'ine te mea 'akaaro'a ka vai i'o,
'E tamariki te mea 'akaaro'a ka vai i'o,
'E 'enua te mea 'akaaro'a ka vai i'o,
Toku patu paepae to mea 'akaaro'a ka vai i'o.

Small as a gnat is my land, Atiu, land of birds!
(But there are things beloved to leave behind)
My wives are a thing beloved to leave behind,
My children a thing beloved to leave behind,
The land is a thing cherished to leave behind,
My platform wall is a thing cherished to leave behind.

These moving farewell words of the ancestor Taratoa when he left for Aitutaki, never to return, provide a fitting introduction to the scope of the work on Atiu from 6-23 September 1969 by Michael Trotter and Roger Duff of the Canterbury Museum.

Atiu was first selected because of its manageable size (four miles by three) for an expedition which circumstances of transport in HMNZS *Endeavour* limited to a stay of sixteen days. Another inducement was the accident in its post-Gospel history which has caused the inhabitants of hamlets then scattered along the inner margin of the coastal barrier of raised coral (*makatea*) to regroup in five contiguous villages on the central plateau. This phenomenon had been reported verbally by R. G. Crocombe, a former Resident Agent, who believed the former house sites might be found undisturbed. While one's hopes were not realised, ceremonial structures of the open-court temple-type (*marae*) proved relatively undisturbed. Thanks to the warm co-operation of landholders and the indispensable help of the Resident Agent, Mr J. H. Webb Junior, in providing free quarters and the daily use of a Landrover, we were able to locate and record all *marae* sites reported from each of the five tribal districts (*vaka tangata*) of 'Areora, Ngati-Arua, Te Ngatangi, Te'enui and Mapumai. Although everybody co-operated, special mention may be made of Mr Webb; our driver, John Cameron; Ngamaru, the *Ariki* of Ngati-Arua; and sub-chiefs (*Mata'iaipo*) Te I'o Te Ariki-Rakei of Te Ngatangi; Mateariki and Marike Koronui of 'Areora; and Pakari Va'ine Tuta'i of Te'enui. To each of these we addressed a citation of thanks, in English and Cook Islands Maori, to accompany a souvenir presentation of a mounted Cook Bi-centenary dollar from New Zealand. It was a matter of regret that Va'ine Rere, the Island's learned man (*tumukorero*) was absent on Assembly business in Rarotonga. We were adopted for house-keeping purposes into the household of our neighbour in Ngati-Arua, namely Dr Tere Ra'ea, the Island's Medical Officer, and record thanks to his nieces Mataira Cecil and Aka'ea Cecil in particular.

We appreciated the opportunity to travel to Atiu on *Endeavour*, the outward voyage from Auckland, via Aitutaki (August 28 to September 6), the return, via Mangaia to Aitutaki (24-26 September), and endeavoured to show our appreciation to Commander D. G. Bamfield by explaining our project to all ranks of the ship's company.

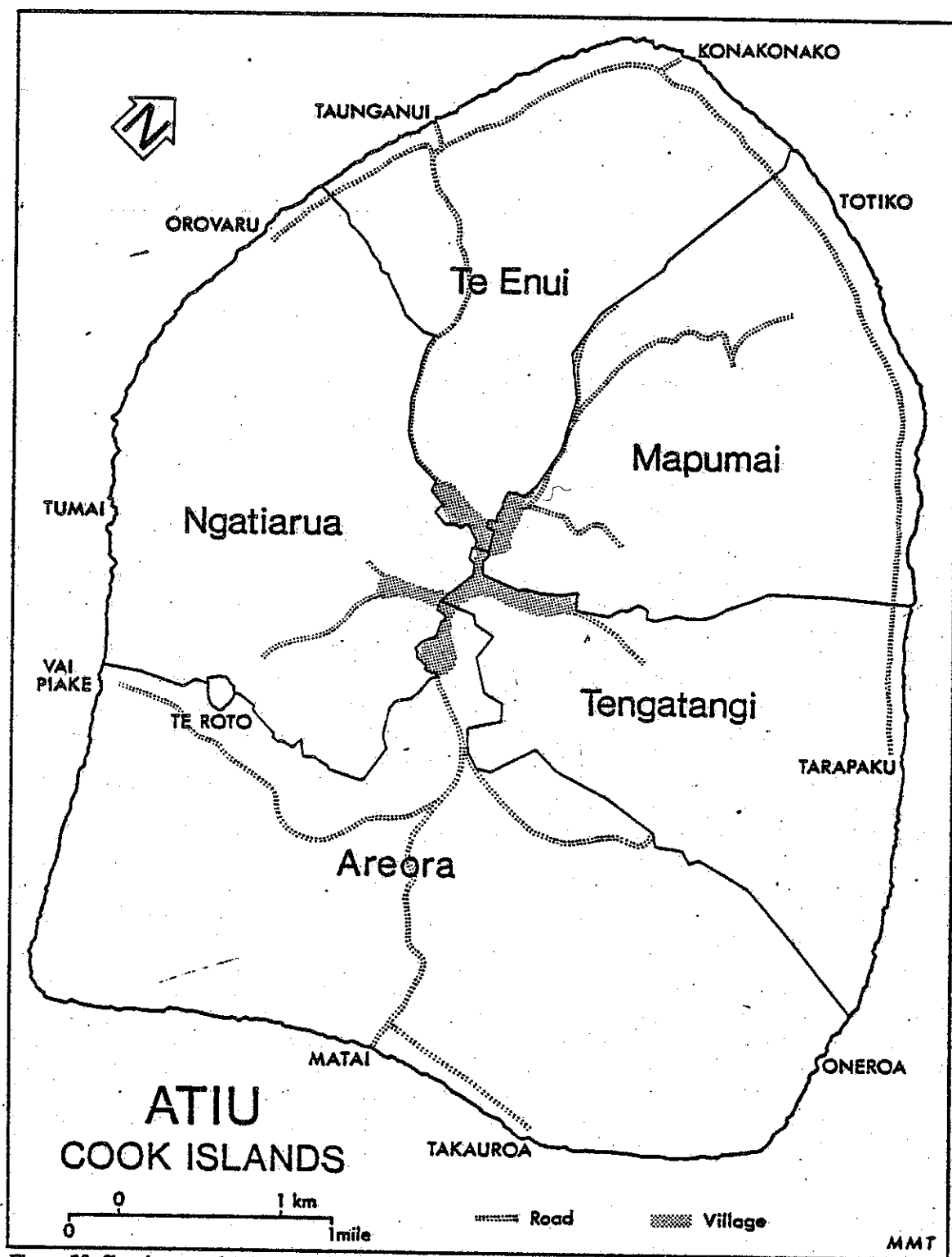


Figure 28. Sketch map of Atiu, Cook Islands, showing tribal districts, villages, roads and landing places.

We found Cook somewhat overshadowed by John Williams, Evangelist of the London Missionary Society, whose introduction of protestant Christianity in 1823 marks the turning point in the Islanders' concept of history. To them, prior to John Williams there is the Heathen Time (*tuatau etene*) which telescopes all Prehistory into a time of "darkness", while after the Gospel comes the time of enlightenment (*tuatau marama*). We found the Islanders intensely interested in Cook's account of his landing party in April 1777, telling the story at his landing passage of Orovaru itself (see Figure 29). Cook's landing and exploration of other Polynesian Islands also featured in slide lectures to the assembled school pupils and to the general public. As at Rarotonga, where the Canterbury Museum initiated an archaeological survey in December-1962, we encouraged the people to recapture pride in their pre-Gospel past and respect for the artifacts and monuments which constitute the most durable documents of that Ancient Time (*tuatau ta'ito*).



Figure 29. Orovaru Landing, Atiu, where Cook's party landed in April, 1777.

Like Cook, whom the expedition commemorated, our terms of reference were wider than an archaeological survey although this took up most of our time. Our visit aimed to contribute further chapters to the results of the field programme which commenced with Canterbury Museum visits to Rarotonga in December 1962 - January 1963 and June - November 1964 and continued with follow-up visits to Rarotonga and Aitutaki by an Auckland University party under Peter Bellwood (summer 1968-69 and 1969-70).

To visit a Cook Island archaeological site one goes only at the invitation of the landowner and preferably in his presence. Only the owner in turn is entitled to recount the traditional history of the site, which he prefers to do in the Maori language, despite an excellent system of the progressive introduction of English in schools. Excellent interpreters abound and might be held to eliminate the need to know Maori but in the last analysis there is a poetic core in any tradition which can only be interpreted in the original.

Thus the lament of Taratoa, recited by Sergeant Mana Ariki on the land section of Manoa in Mapumai once owned by his ancestor, reduces the multitudinous aspects of the culture and environment of Atiu to three simple themes.

1. The physical aspect of the land itself.
2. The family bonds of wives and children as expressing the social organisation of land ownership, tribal organisation and the social hierarchy.
3. The "platform wall" (*patu paepae*) as symbolic of the courtyard temples and dwellings erected by man.

As to the land itself there was no adequate topographical map in existence, and our first achievement was to set in hand the production of this. We were fortunate to make contact with Major P. J. Hunt, Director, Department of Surveying of the University of Otago. Using paired (photo-grammetric) aerial photographs taken by the New Zealand Department of Civil Aviation in May 1959 and with ground control and some identification provided by the Chief Surveyor, Rarotonga, Major Hunt provided the Island's first topographical map which proved indispensable to our site plotting. The rectangular outlines of orchards were always identifiable by our Maori friends in the field, and were skillfully used by Michael Trotter to fix the position of sites, known otherwise only on the cadastral map.

Figure 35 of this bulletin shows 32 sites plotted against a reduced version of the master topographical map. It will be seen how the central volcanic mass rises to a central ridge attaining 235 feet in height, from the white waste of the raised coral barrier. Sites tend to occur in clusters adjoining natural swampy areas, long converted to flooded *taro* fields, *repo taro*, from water penned up between the lower valley terminals and the inner barrier of the *Makatea*. Examples are Manoa (Site 17) in Mapumai tribal district, and Sites 18 to 21 adjoining *marae* Vai Rakaia in Te Ngatangi. Standing in such water gardens with the stop-banks running as regularly as in the rice paddies of Asia, one appreciates the cumulative "farm engineering" of the Islanders over many industrious generations. Among the originally natural swamp, Sites 22 and 23 adjoin Te Roto which, as the name implies, has remained a lake, discharging through an impressive underground stream to the sea.

In an island completely devoid of natural harbours and without a true lagoon, importance is attached to the scattered and tiny reef passages (*ava*) which provided minimal canoe access sometimes on an "iron-bound" coast, sometimes over the brief coastal underwater shelf serving as a "lagoon". It will be noted from Figure 28 that each tribal district is centred on one or two centrally placed canoe landings, notably: 'Areora, centred on Mata'i and with Oneroa, Takauoa and Vai Piake serving the sub-districts; Te Ngatangi, centred on Tarāpaku; Mapumai, centred on Totiko; Te 'enui, centred on Konakonako and Taunganui; Ngati-arua, on Orovaru and Tumai.

To meet the problem of taking canoes down an often steep limestone cliff to the sea passage, they were kept light enough to be shouldered by the fishermen (Figure 30),

sometimes down a ladder framework known as 'iku'ere. By way of compensation for the poor line-fishermen resources of the sea, Atiu was blessed as an inshore spawning ground of Flying Fish on a six-monthly cycle, from June to December. On a phase of three nights of the moon they could be taken in daylight. According to eye witnesses they come in underwater, in layers, and in such numbers as to blot out the coral heads. The fisherman reaches down with his pole net, normally used for aerial scooping. The continued good fortune of Atiu in this respect was guaranteed by offerings made at a *makatea* out-crop (at Site 2) near Taunganui passage, and named Maroro (Flying Fish). Although a natural outcrop, it was believed to have grown from an original fragment of spawning-reef coral brought from the northern atolls of Manihiki or Tongareva. The northern passages in particular also gave good access to the offshore sandbank reef of Takutea. Here shell-fish, notably *Tridacna*, could be taken in quantity, also the nesting Frigate Bird and Booby colonies.

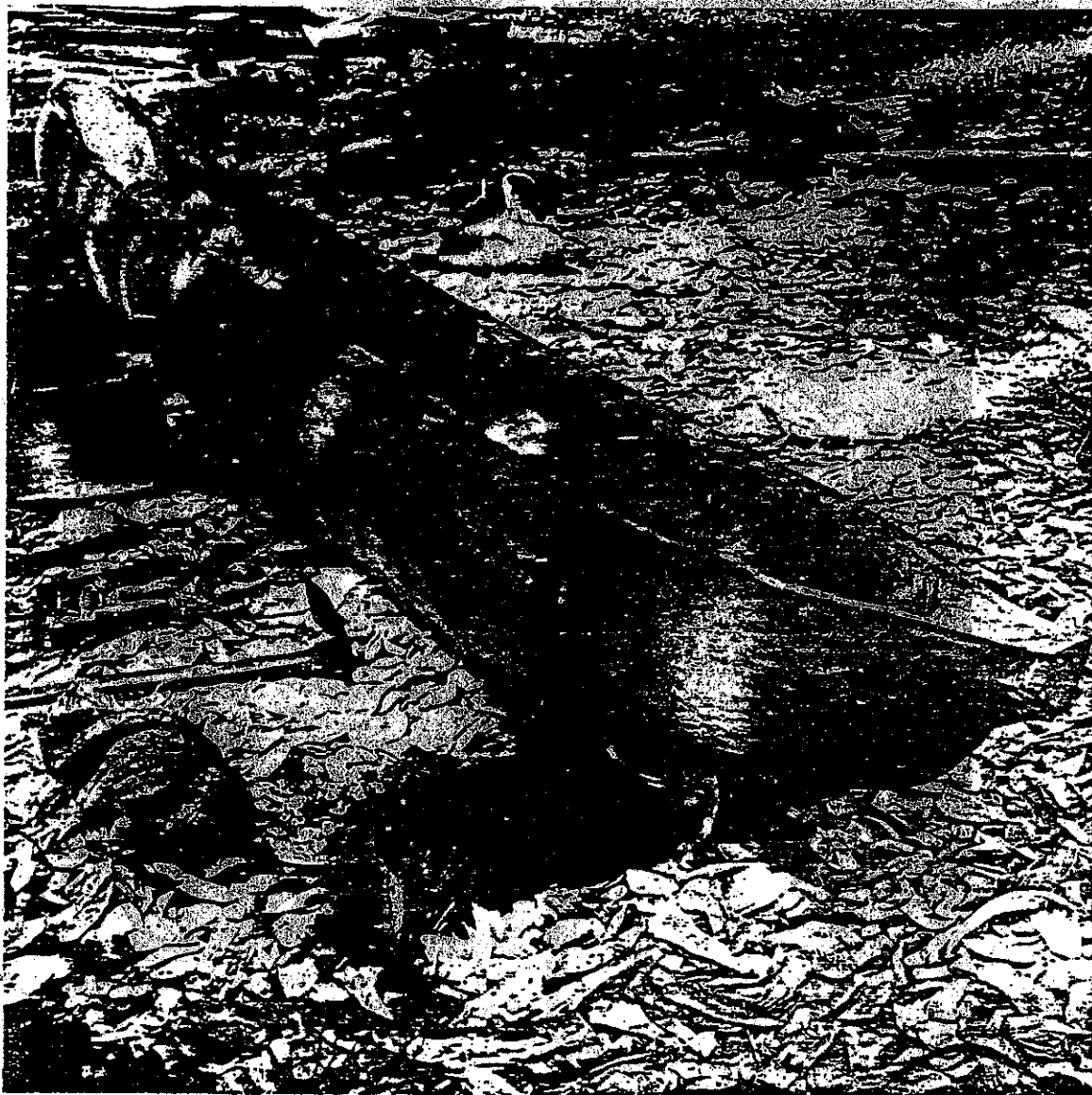


Figure 30. Dug-out canoe under construction, Atiu, 1969.



Figure 31.
Pounding table,
papa'ia, Atiu.



Figure 33.
A calcite pounder, found in a taro swamp near Te Roto, Atiu.



Figure 32. Revival of bark-cloth beating, Atiu,
September 1969.

From each landing, paths led inland over the broken surface of the Makatea to the *taro* swamp zone in the valley bottoms where the hamlets were formerly clustered. To provide comfort for the traveller, despite the coir sandals noted in universal use by Cook in 1777, the more jagged pinnacles were broken off and the fragments laid causeway fashion to fill hollows. Typical built-up path sections (Sites 24 and 26) are noted from the Tarapaku landing. Sites 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Te'enui are similarly aligned along the inland path from the Taunganui landing, while the inland path from Cook's Orovaru landing in Ngati-Arua is marked by sites leading to *marae* Orongo (Site 11) where Cook's party were conducted. The first Polynesian landings found the *makatea* and the inland hills covered by a primeval jungle, gradually cleared and burnt on the hill slopes, but on the wastes of the *makatea* tending to persist as a wilderness partly colonised by introduced coconut palms and candle nuts. From what one can learn of the traditional history of settlement in the Island, remnants of broken tribes could survive precariously in the *makatea* jungle, foraging in the forest, and taking refuge in labyrinthine caves which also provided a permanent source of fresh water.

The tribal districts (*vaka tangata* . . . literally *canoe of people*) follow Cook Islands practice in representing the aggregation of wedge-shaped slices (*tapere*) amalgamating into fan-shaped blocks running from the sea coasts to the highest central point of the Island. As in the traditions of Rarotonga there is reason to expect that the social hierarchy associated with the land-tenure system, together with the *marae* structures as symbols of the hierarchy, were introduced in a pre-*marae* phase by a formative migration of prestige ancestors. According to Crocombe (1960), genealogies suggest settlement by the first founding ancestors in the 13th century. At a period we might date from a lineage succession of 12 chiefs prior to 1823 the immigrant warrior Mokoero displaced the existing hierarchy and introduced the rule of *mokoero* (*au o mokoero*). The victorious party then created seven *mata'iao* (sub-chief) titles, with a corresponding division of the Island into seven tribal districts, each controlled by one *mata'iao*. Our map (Figure 28) shows four of the seven original tribal districts, Ngati Arua, Te'enui, Mapumai, and Te Ngatangi; while the large 'Areora district to the south, combines three originally separate districts.

According to tradition the seven met as a governing body for the Island at Arangirea *marae* in 'Areora (our Site 28).

About 1760, following an unsuccessful attempt by the *tangata'enua* descendants to regain control, the victory elevated the then senior *mata'iao* to the *ariki* title of Ngamaru, now associated with Ngati-Arua. Following objections by Te Ngatangi district, with support from Te'enui and Mapumai, the *mata'iao* of Te Ngatangi was elevated to the *ariki* title of Rongoma-tane. Before Cook's arrival in 1777 a third (northern districts) *ariki* title of Parua-nui had been created; now associated with Mapumai district.

Although it has been claimed that the three *ariki*, related by origin and intermarriage, combined to receive Cook's party of Gore and Ma'i (the Tahitian) at Orongo *marae* (Site 11), our informants countered that the party was met by three local *mata'iao* from this district (Ngati-Arua). Beaglehole (1967, p. 83) gives the names of the three as Atirau, Taroa and Atauria. Associated with *marae* Orongo itself, an extensive system of large enclosures bounded by walls of *makatea* rubble, we found the later period ceremonial platform of Marau, alternatively known as Tukinga-Upoko from the embedded head-crushing stone alter of that name (Site 9) and the burial cave Te Ana-o-Kuekue (Site 10). These constituted a complex frequently referred to as Mokoero, from the ancestor of that name. The name Mokoero also seemed a synonym for the tribal district itself . . . Ngati-Arua.

To conclude this brief summary of traditional history, Atiu established a successful tradition of conquest and colonisation, claiming suzerainty over Manuae in Cook's day and, prior to the arrival of the missionaries in 1823, regularly raiding Mauke and Mitiaro "for food and women" (Crocombe, 1967). A particular pre-Contact attack on Mitiaro is

graphically described by Buck (1944). Post-Contact raids lasted until the eighteen-forties, the last projected raid, on Mauke, failing, when the Atiu fleet learned that Mauke were armed with muskets and turned back.

Among distinctive features of the *marae* structures recorded by us were walls made of massive slabs of shaped coral limestone, up to seven feet by five feet and 8 inches thick and with a shouldered trimming of the upper slab reminiscent of the treatment in some of the Tuamotu atolls, as recorded by Emory (1934). The most widespread use was made of gigantic stalactites, known as *ke'o*, and up to 18 feet long and two feet in diameter. These had been prised from the ceilings of the inner chambers of large caves honeycombing the coastal barrier of raised coral, brought out with great difficulty through constricted entrance chambers, and carried bodily over distances of up to two miles to serve as column uprights and boundary kerbings of the *marae*.

So impressed are the modern generations with the labour of their pre-Christian ancestors that they tend to regard them as giants physically and wizards in terms of supernatural power. However, the bones of pre-Christian burials surviving in the three burial caves we were conducted to proved to be people of normal proportions! In one burial cave (Site 4) assumed to date between Cook (1777) and John Williams (1823), the coffins of sectioned canoe hulls were still intact, and we were able to inspect and record such burial offerings as a chief's seat, bark-cloth beaters, coconut water bottles, stone adzes, calcite pounders, and flakes probably used for laceration of the mourners.

While the collection of artifacts was not a priority, out of deference to the Cook Islands Museum (established by the Canterbury Museum at Rarotonga during a six weeks' visit by Mr R. Riccalton in September 1967) we supported a move by the Junior High School Principal, Peter D'Ath, and Assistant Tatu'ava to build up an interim collection of folk artifacts at the High School.

Owing to the shortage of time excavation was limited to a token sounding of an earth oven (Site 7) of special interest to the landowner. We regarded the expedition as a vigorous reconnaissance of the archaeological potential of this third island of the Canterbury Museum's survey in the Southern Cook Group, and ideally necessitating a more leisurely follow-up visit. While the report appears under the signature of Roger Duff, I have leaned very heavily, in all technical aspects of site recording, on the profoundly competent work of my colleague Michael Trotter, Archaeologist at the Canterbury Museum.



Figure 34. Coir sandals made at the High School, Atiu, in the pattern of those used for walking over the reef and makatea before imported "jandals" became popular.

Archaeological Survey of Atiu, Cook Islands

Michael M. Trotter

INTRODUCTION

The Island of Atiu lies some 190 kilometres north east of Rarotonga and is the third largest of the Cook group. The central portion of the island is a hill of volcanic origin. It is incised by deep valleys and surrounded by a rim of raised coral limestone called *makatea* (see Figures 35 and 36). Over most of the surface the volcanic rock has been deeply weathered to a red clay, but fresh basaltic rock has been exposed by erosion in at least two of the valleys. Swamps occur in the lower portions of some of the valleys and at the inner margin of the *makatea*. A narrow coral platform encircles the island at sea level but there are no lagoons.

The *makatea* is, for the most part, covered with a fairly dense forest growth; in areas of low fertility or where only a thin layer of soil covers the limestone, the growth is correspondingly sparse. Because of reduced fertility and periodic fires on the volcanic plateau, most of the vegetation is considerably lighter here, commonly bracken and shrubs with stands of taller trees, but some heavier growth does occur in the valleys.

As part of the expedition organised by the Royal Society of New Zealand to commemorate the bicentenary of Captain James Cook's landing in New Zealand, a survey was made of Atiu to locate and record archaeological sites in September 1969. Because of the limited time available and the heavy growth of vegetation which obscured many features, the co-operation of local inhabitants was sought to locate prehistoric and protohistoric sites. While this resulted in a bias towards obvious structures and traditional sites, it was considered more expedient to record these than to search for sites that might require an intensive study (which time did not allow) in order to obtain useful data.

Before going to Atiu, a large-scale topographical map (1:7920 scale with twenty-foot contours) was prepared from aerial photographs at the Department of Surveying of the University of Otago. A superimposed grid of thousand-yard squares, based on a central survey point, enabled any point to be referred to with an accuracy of ten yards, although it was not always practicable to attain this degree of precision.

PRESENT DAY POPULATION

The first experience the natives of Atiu had of Europeans occurred with the visit of Captain James Cook's ships *Resolution* and *Discovery* in A.D. 1777 (Beaglehole 1967: 83-86, 831-43, 1004-09). Some of Cook's men came ashore at a landing place, which was probably Orovaru * (see Figure 35), and spent some hours on the island. The next recorded contact with European culture was made by missionaries of the London Missionary Society in the 1820's. Until this time the islanders had lived in scattered groups mostly near the swampy areas in which they had gardens. On the missionaries' instigation, the population was resettled together on the highest land in the centre of the island in five contiguous villages (see Crocombe 1967: 98). The boundaries of these villages are still recognised today, each village being at the apex of a wedge-shaped segment which represents a separate land district. While

* Beaglehole (1967: 84) refers to Gill's version of a traditional account of the landing 'on the southern shore at an indenture in the reef called "Orovaru"' (Gill 1880: 186), but points out that Cook's ships were never off the southern shore. However, Orovaru is on the north-west side of the island where Cook's ships did go, and thus could be where the men landed.

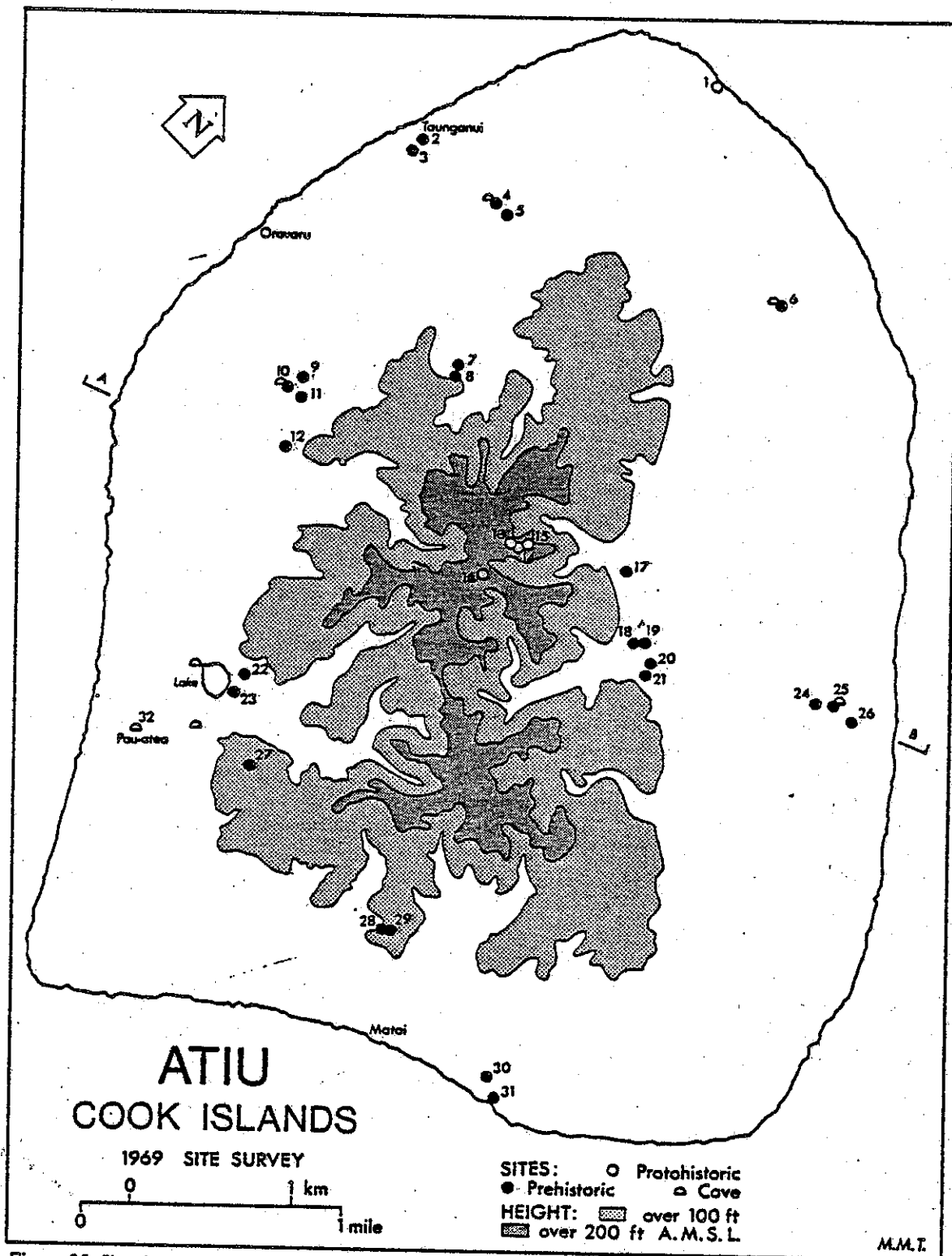


Figure 35. Sketch map of Atiu, Cook Islands, showing locations of archaeological sites recorded in 1969.

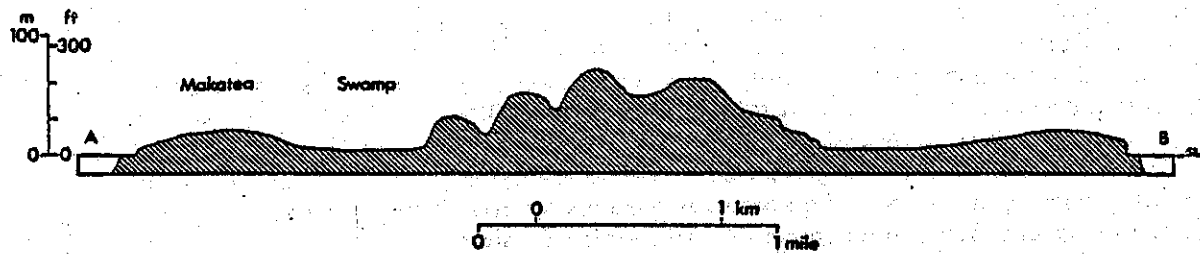


Figure 36. Diagrammatic section through Atiu (see A-B on Figure 35). Note that the vertical scale is exaggerated.



Figure 37. Pounder made of calcite and adze made of basalt, belonging to Neke 'Are, Atiu.

this arrangement of a centralised settlement has distinct advantages, particularly in regard to internal communication, administration and comfortable living conditions, it does necessitate travelling several kilometres to the boat landing places or lesser distances to swamp gardens where the staple foodstuff, taro, is grown. Other food and cash crops, particularly oranges, coffee, arrowroot and coconuts, are also grown in small clearings, mostly on the lower volcanic slopes and in the vicinity of the low-lying ground. Temporary shelters have been erected in a number of places near gardens for use during prolonged gardening operations; in several cases these coincide with prehistoric sites.

Some "native crafts" are still practised on Atiu; the manufacture of dug-out canoes and native-style houses being examples which are still of some (though decreasing) importance in the islanders' economy. Rough carrying bags quickly made from coconut-tree leaves are in everyday use, but home-made sandals, once used mainly for walking over the reef, are now made only at the school; imported "jandals" being much preferred as footwear. In September 1969 ten of the Atiu women made a quantity of bark cloth for use by a travelling concert party. They used old ironwood beaters that had not been used for many years, but had been retained perhaps for just such an occasion or for reasons of sentiment. Many other now obsolete artifacts had been kept, and in some cases where they had been in the owner's family for many years were highly valued. One family for example had two circular one-piece tables, two food pounders made of stalacite and two basalt adzes (e.g. Figure 37). Occasionally artifacts were picked up during gardening operations, but no particular value was attached to these (e.g. Figure 38).

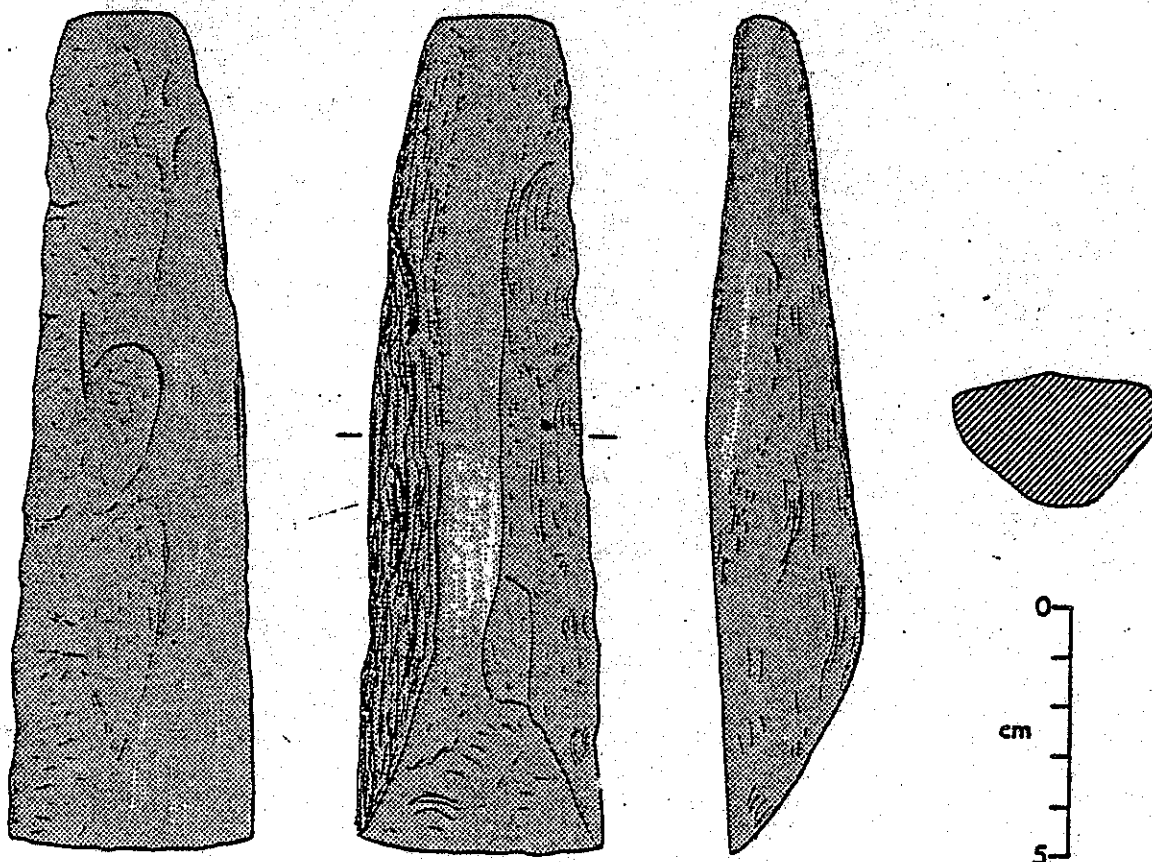


Figure 38. Basalt adze found by Te I'o Te-Ariki-rakei while gardening on a hill top in Tengtangi, Atiu.

CAVES

There are numerous caves throughout the makatea; it is likely that they partly represent fissures and passages in the original coral reef and partly are due to solution of limestone. Of six caves recorded (several others were reported) three had been used for the storage of human bones and at least two others contained stumps of large stalactites that had been broken off by the islanders many years ago. Cave burial is not practised at present and only small stalactites are currently being removed, usually by European visitors as souvenirs or by local people for no apparent purpose. One cave however, is considered a good place to catch large edible crabs and another, which has a stream flowing through it from the lake to the sea, is a source of eels and other food fish. The first of these (Figure 39), which was called alternatively Pau-atea or Taketake by different informants, was also reported as a burial cave, and although no evidence of it having been used for this purpose was seen, it is quite possible that there were human remains in some unseen passages. This cave is briefly described by Williams (1840: 72), and Marshall (1930: 67).

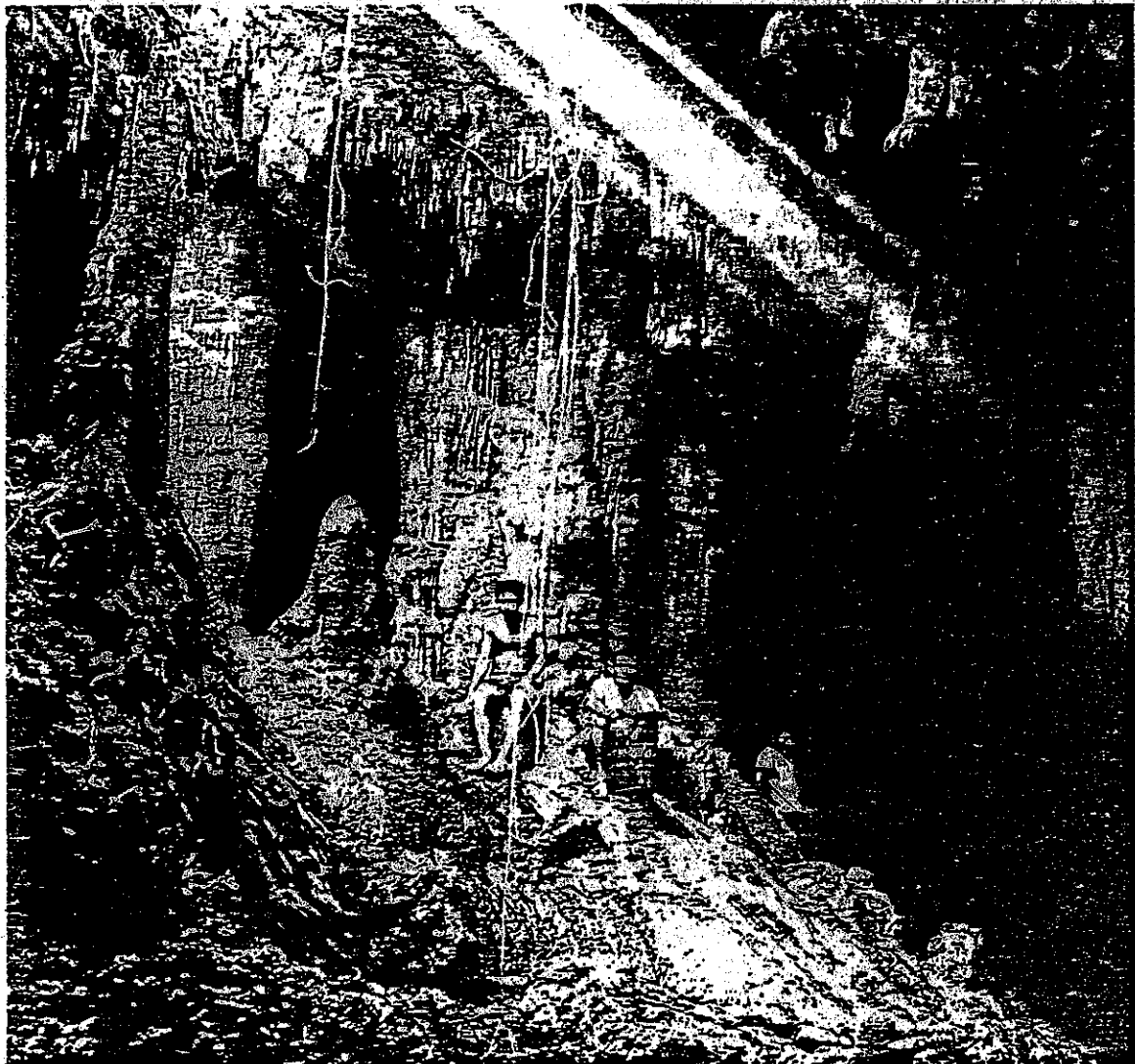


Figure 39. Sunlight streams in through a hole in the roof of the Pau-atea cave, Atiu (Site 32).

Before Christianization stalactites were used extensively in the construction or marking out of ceremonial structures. Sections of broken stalactite had been used in and near marae walls, as grave surrounds, as seats, as apparent place markers, and, according to local informants, to represent gods. As most caves contained stalactites of various sizes, doubtless they were obtained from wherever they conveniently occurred. In the cave called Pau-atea were a number of stumps of broken stalactites, now covered over with fresh deposits of calcium carbonate. In another cave, Te Ana-a-Kovi (Site 25), there were, besides broken stumps, two very large stalactites which had been broken off from the cave ceiling. Their lower ends were buried in the floor deposit of rubble and clay, and both were leaning towards the cave entrance. Local legend has it that the people had commenced taking these stalactites for religious use when the missionary John Williams arrived and converted everyone to Christianity. Although no indication of human agency was in evidence it seems likely that they were in fact broken off and intended for removal but were abandoned for the reason related or perhaps because they were too heavy to shift any further.

Another cave where large stalactites had been removed in the past was Te Ana-a-Raka (Site 6). Although neither as large nor as spectacular as Pau-atea, it contained many chambers and was used for the storage of human bones. The bones were in three groups and comprised the partial remains of six bodies. One group was said to be the remains of the daughter of Raka (after whom the cave was named), another group was also of one person - about ten bones lying on the floor with a few stones around them - and the third group included four broken skulls (Figure 40). Many of the bones had a thin coating of calcium carbonate on them. Names of recent visitors to the cave had been written on pieces of paper and placed in bottles or under stones. There was no indication of whether the lack of more or less complete skeletons was due to only selected bones being interred or to the subsequent removal of many of them. Much of the breakage of the bones was certainly post mortem, some of it recent.

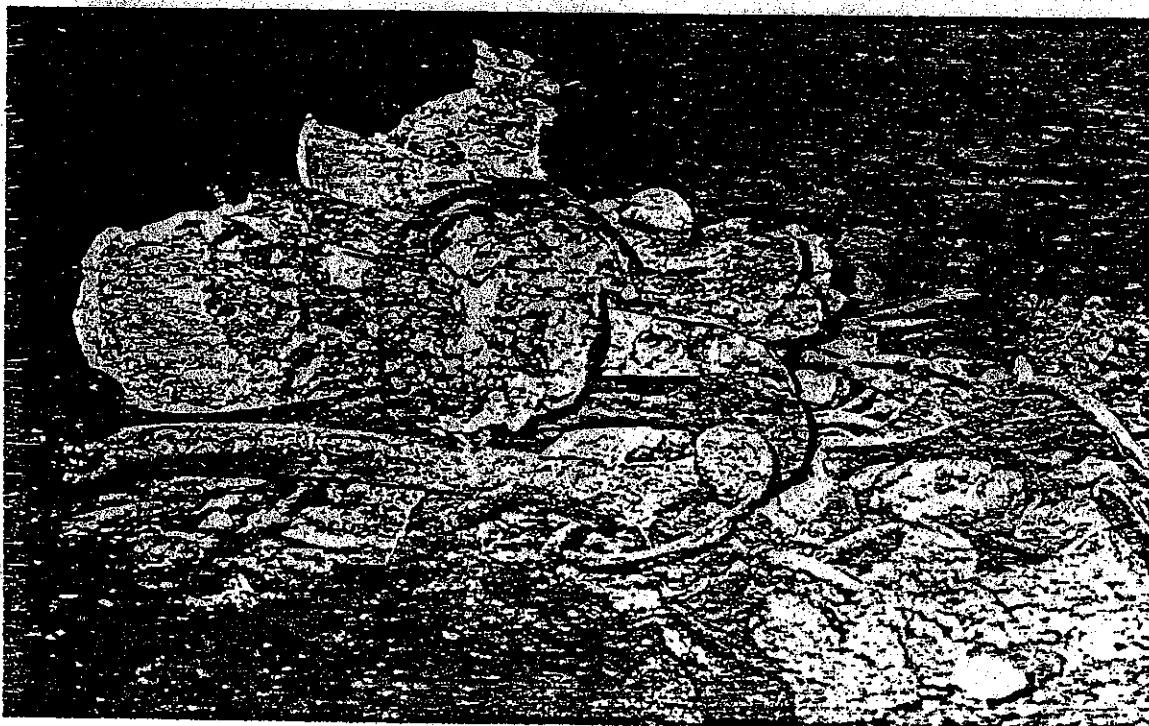


Figure 40. Miscellaneous bones of four human bodies on a rock ledge in Te-Ana-a-Raka burial cave, Atiu (Site 6).

At Te Ana-o-Kuekue (Site 10), a cave about eighty metres south of a complex of stone structures, were many small groups of bones, mostly placed in crevices or on ledges. There could be no doubt here that in many cases only a selection of bones had been put in the positions they now occupied, for there would not have been sufficient room for all the bones from one body. In this cave were several pieces of decaying wood which appeared to be the remains of cut sections of canoe hull, and one better preserved piece was definitely the flat end of a canoe-hull bone repository. Again there were many pieces of paper, mostly in bottles, on which were names of visitors to the cave.

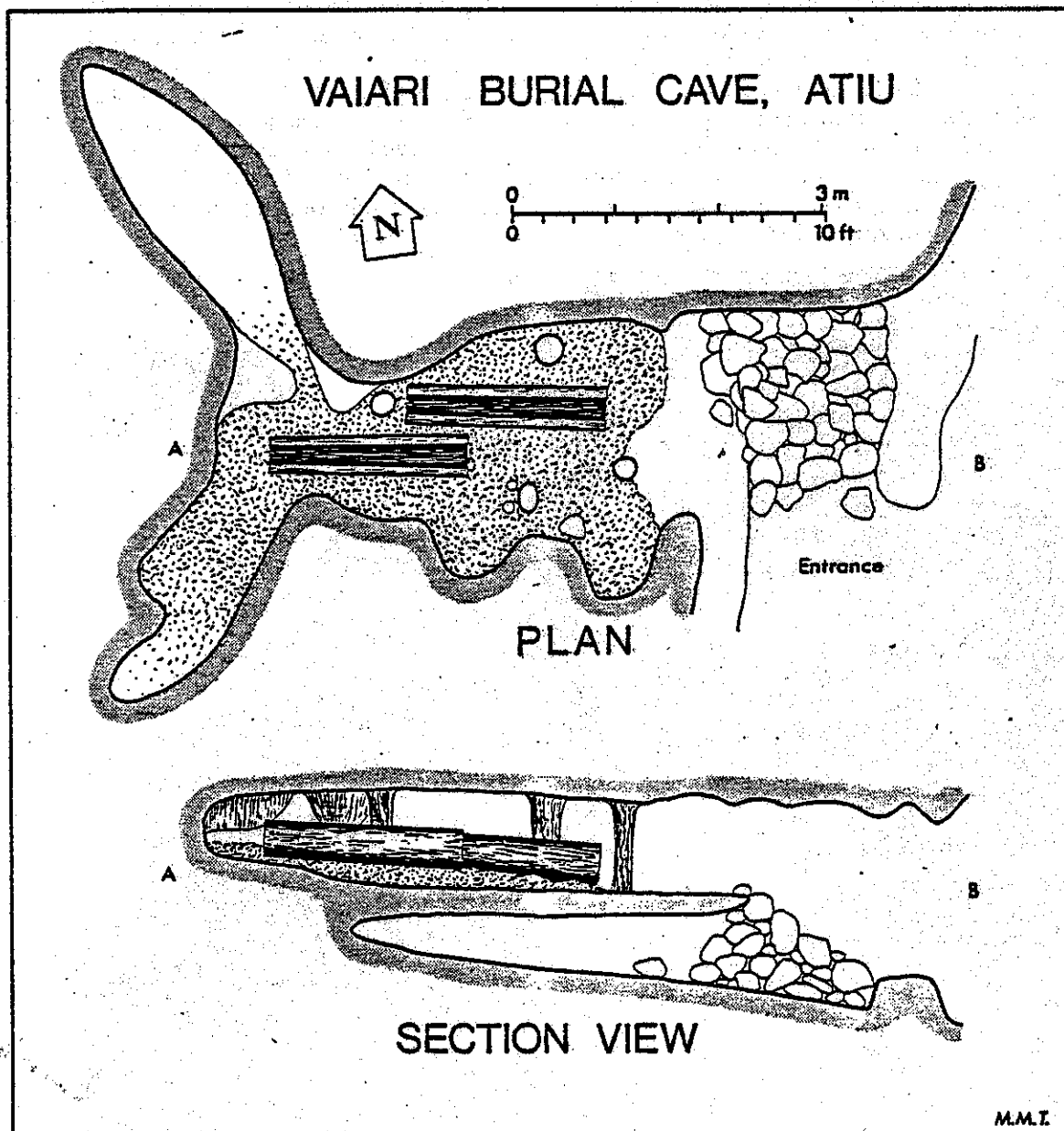


Figure 41. Plan and section diagrams of the Vaiari burial cave, Atiu (Site 4).

The third burial cave examined, Vaiari (Site 4, Figure 41), was a considerable contrast to the two just described. There were no papers recording previous visitors, but it contained bones of an estimated 30 to 50 bodies, canoe-hull repositories, artifacts and food remains. Vaiari cave was much smaller than Te Ana-a-Raka or Te Ana-o-Kuekue, having one main chamber five metres long. Only one of two lateral extensions at the end was accessible and a smaller chamber beneath the main one had not been used; its opening had been blocked off by a heap of limestone rubble. Most of the floor area of the main chamber was covered by a layer of limestone dust, fragments of coral, human bones, bone dust, wood and other debris up to 15 centimetres thick. On this lay two cut sections of a dug-out canoe hull (Figure 42): the better preserved was 1.9 metres long by 34 to 43 centimetres wide, and had a flat shaped end-piece partially attached by coconut-fibre cordage at one end. It contained some bones from three bodies. There were also broken, decaying fragments of at least one other canoe-hull section (three altogether) and several end-pieces. Human bones were scattered thickly on the floor and most were broken - probably due to people scrambling over them to get to the back of the cave. In the south-east lateral extension at the end of the cave was a predominance of skulls, mostly in complete or almost complete condition, but elsewhere no selection, either according to individuals or type of bone, was evident.



Figure 42. Broken human bones and two canoe-hull bone containers in the Vaiari burial cave, Atiu (Site 4).

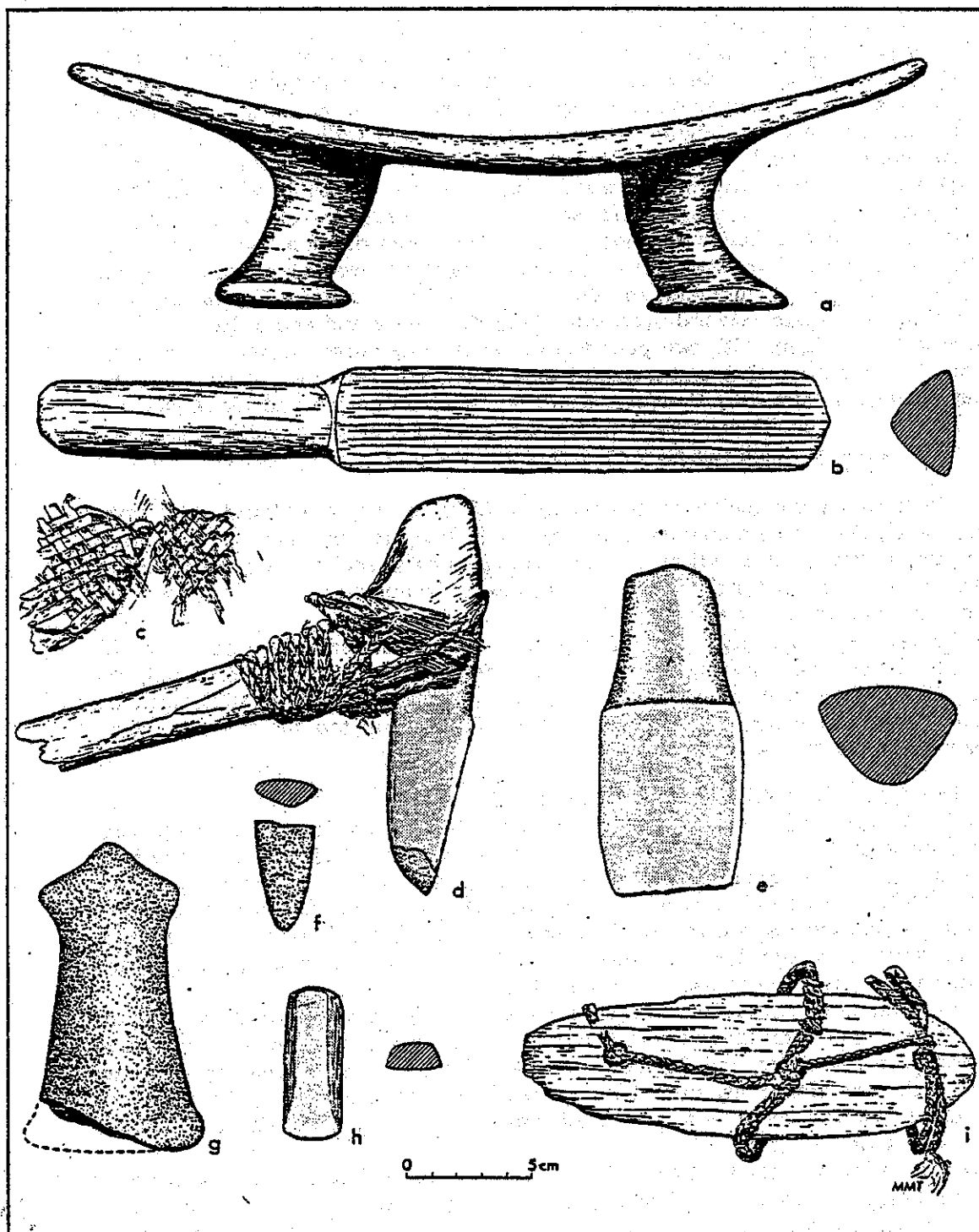


Figure 43. Some of the artifacts in the Vaiari burial cave: (a) Broken wooden stool. (b) Bark-cloth beater having a triangular cross-section. (c) Fragment of woven fabric. (d) Broken hafted adze. (e) Blunted adze made of basalt. (f) Portion of a file made of coral. (g) Broken pounder made of calcite. (h) Chisel made of basalt. (i) Wooden object of unknown use.

Without unduly disturbing the contents of the cave, the artifacts listed below were noted amongst the bones, (many, particularly those made of wood or fibre, were in poor condition, and they will deteriorate further unless some action is taken to preserve them): - one half of a wooden stool that had split longitudinally (Figure 43a); two bark-cloth beaters, one having a square section, and the other (Figure 43b) a triangular section with grooves on one face only; a small piece of wood with three holes cut in it and plaited coconut-fibre cord threaded through them and around the wood (Figure 43i) - its use is unknown; three polished coconut shells, each having a hole broken in it, probably for use as a water container; a quantity of coconut-fibre cord, mostly plaited but some twisted; a small fragment of woven fabric, probably of *Pandanus* leaf (Figure 43c); three blunted basalt adzes, one still hafted to a broken handle (Figure 43d) and the others of the same type (as Figure 43e, front view and mid-section of one); several percussion flakes of ?calcite and one of basalt; part of a file made of coral (Figure 43f); two pounders of calcite, one broken at the top end, the other at the bottom (Figure 43g); and a small basalt chisel, with (like the adzes) a chipped, blunted cutting edge (Figure 43h). Besides these were a number of unworked sticks, pieces of coconuts (including some with the husks tied together as is done today to facilitate carrying) and some mollusc shells, which suggest that food was placed in the cave with the remains of the dead.

At Vaiari there was some likelihood that complete skeletons had been placed in the cave. It is possible even that whole bodies were put there, but if so the bones must have in many cases been later shifted - this is indicated by the accumulation of skulls in the south-western lateral extension, and the bones of three individuals in one canoe-hull container (it was not large enough to hold more than one body).

Use of the cave as a repository for human bones must almost certainly date to the pre-Christian era. If the missionary reports and local information are correct about total conversion to Christianity (and presumably to Christian burial customs) in 1823, then the general use of Vaiari cave must date before that time.* Presumably, too, the other two burial caves that were seen also date prior to 1823.

STONE STRUCTURES AND HABITATION SITES

As stated previously, all present-day permanent occupation is confined to a village complex in the centre of the island. Buildings for habitation and other purposes are made from four different types of material:- native unsawn timber, imported sawn timber, coral lime cement and artificial (Portland) cement. Of these materials, cement in particular is also used for structures to mark graves, and in the construction of boundary and retaining walls. Coral gravel from the coast is spread on roadways and paths, on graves, around habitations, and used for flooring shelters and less-substantial dwellings.

No form of cement or mortar appears to have been used prior to European contact; the technique of making of coral lime cement (burnt coral lime) is said to have been introduced by the Christian missionaries, and Portland cement was first imported some decades after missionary settlement. Hence any structure made of either type of cement, or incorporating it, can be dated with fair certainty to post missionary settlement, that is 1823 (the recorded date of William's visit) or later.

Without excavating, no actual remains of prehistoric dwellings were found, although some areas where they probably occurred were indicated by scattered coral gravel and midden material - mollusc shells, burnt basalt stones and occasionally artifacts. Two of the recorded habitation sites were revealed as layers of this material in bulldozed road cuttings at the

* On Mangaia however Peter Bellwood reports that some of the cave burials contained brass buttons. The people may have professed conversion to the missionaries but still held to old customs in secret (Bellwood, personal communication 1972).

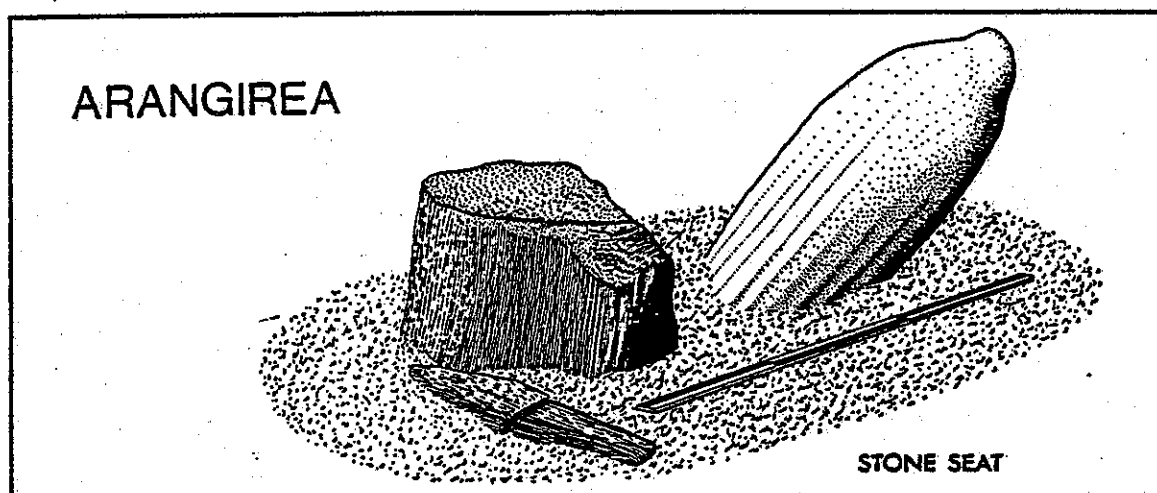


Figure 44. Basalt stone seat with stalactite backrest (out of position) near Site 29, Arangirea, Atiu. Scale marked in feet.

lower ends of volcanic ridges. At Site 12 a layer of black soil containing charcoal and coral gravel up to 25 centimetres thick extended for about twenty metres in a road bank; it was covered with a 25 to 60 centimetre thick layer of sterile volcanic soil. Site 22 was similar but much smaller.

Many other sites were indicated by scattered coral gravel on the surface of the ground. Two of these, numbers 17 and 27, each had a large stalactite lying on the surface as well, and were said by land owners to be the marae of Manoa and Katara respectively. The latter had a rectangular grave enclosure marked by rough pieces of makatea limestone. There was a similar enclosure at Arangirea marae, Site 29, and nearby were three pieces of stalactite beneath a large *Barringtonia* tree on an extensive area of coral gravel. About thirty metres west of the tree, which was itself near the south-west edge of the gravel area, was a basalt stone seat with a stalactite backrest (which had moved out of position. See Figure 44). The seat faced away from the tree.

Site 18 also contained a stalactite, but only a small one standing upright at the edge of an area of scattered coral gravel, possibly as a boundary marker. Seven of the remaining coral gravel sites recorded had no stalactites or visible indications of structures, and are assumed to be habitation sites. Four of these were on wave-cut benches at 12 and 21 metres above present sea level on the central volcanic hill (Sites 17 and 19 at 12 metres, and 18 and 21 at 21 metres)*. These benches were most noticeable on the eastern side of the volcanic plateau and in many places now have plots of orange trees on them. In 1777 William Anderson, a member of Cook's expedition, saw from his ship two or three "long and spacious" houses, on the rising volcanic ground (Beaglehole 1967: 842) and although no sites that would correspond to these have been found they could well have been similar to these recorded bench sites on the opposite side of the island.

Site 11, named Orongo, comprised walls of coral rubble and stalactites on an area of scattered coral gravel (Figure 45). Approximately twenty metres west of a wet swamp was a low wall (less than a metre high) of loosely piled makatea coral fragments a few metres below the top of a slope which ran into the swamp. (Walls of this type are commonly used on the island today, particularly in enclosures and exclosures for pigs). At one point two stalactites had

* Crocombe (1972) describes these as artificial terraces, and while it is not impossible that the benches have been modified in places no evidence of this was seen. See also Wood and Hay 1970: 76, 79.

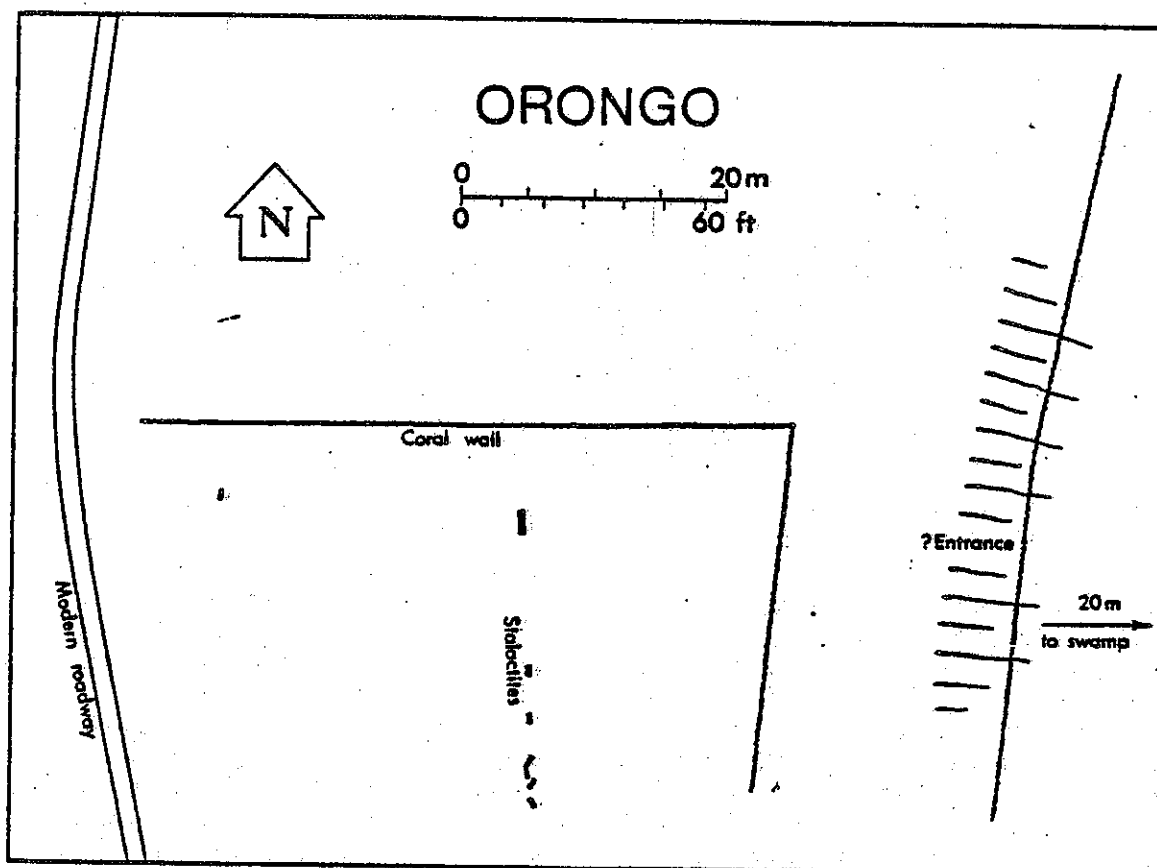


Figure 45. Plan of Site 11, Orongo, Atiu.

been erected vertically in the ground on either side of an opening wide enough to permit entry through the wall. Further west on level ground was a reversed L-shaped wall of coral fragments and occasional pieces of stalactite, within which was a row of seven stalactite sections lying on the surface of the ground. These stalactite sections ranged in size from 65 to 175 centimetres long and 15 to 50 centimetres in diameter. Local informants considered them to be either seats or place-markers for dignitaries during ceremonies that were held there. An isolated small stalactite section lay further west towards the modern "road". It is possible that this piece was originally part of the row of stalactites, and was removed with the intention of using it elsewhere; two similar pieces now lie on either side of a modern bridge on the road, and were doubtless taken from Orongo or some other site.

It is interesting that this site is generally considered to be the marae to which Cook's party were conducted and where they were entertained in 1777. The contemporary descriptions are not sufficiently detailed to establish where this was, although I get the impression that it was probably not far from the shore, particularly as it was where canoes were kept (Beaglehole 1967: 831). Orongo is over 1100 metres (nearly three-quarters of a mile) from the nearest landing place, Orovaru; a long way to have to carry canoes over rough makatea. To confuse matters (but at the same time offering a possible explanation) the name Orongo is also applied to the land section on which Site 3 is situated, and it is quite close (250 metres) to another landing place, Taunganui. (See map, Figure 35, on page 96).

On the opposite side of the road from the Site 11 Orongo, is the burial cave Te Ana-o-Kuekue (Site 10, described above), and approximately 100 metres to the north-west is a com-

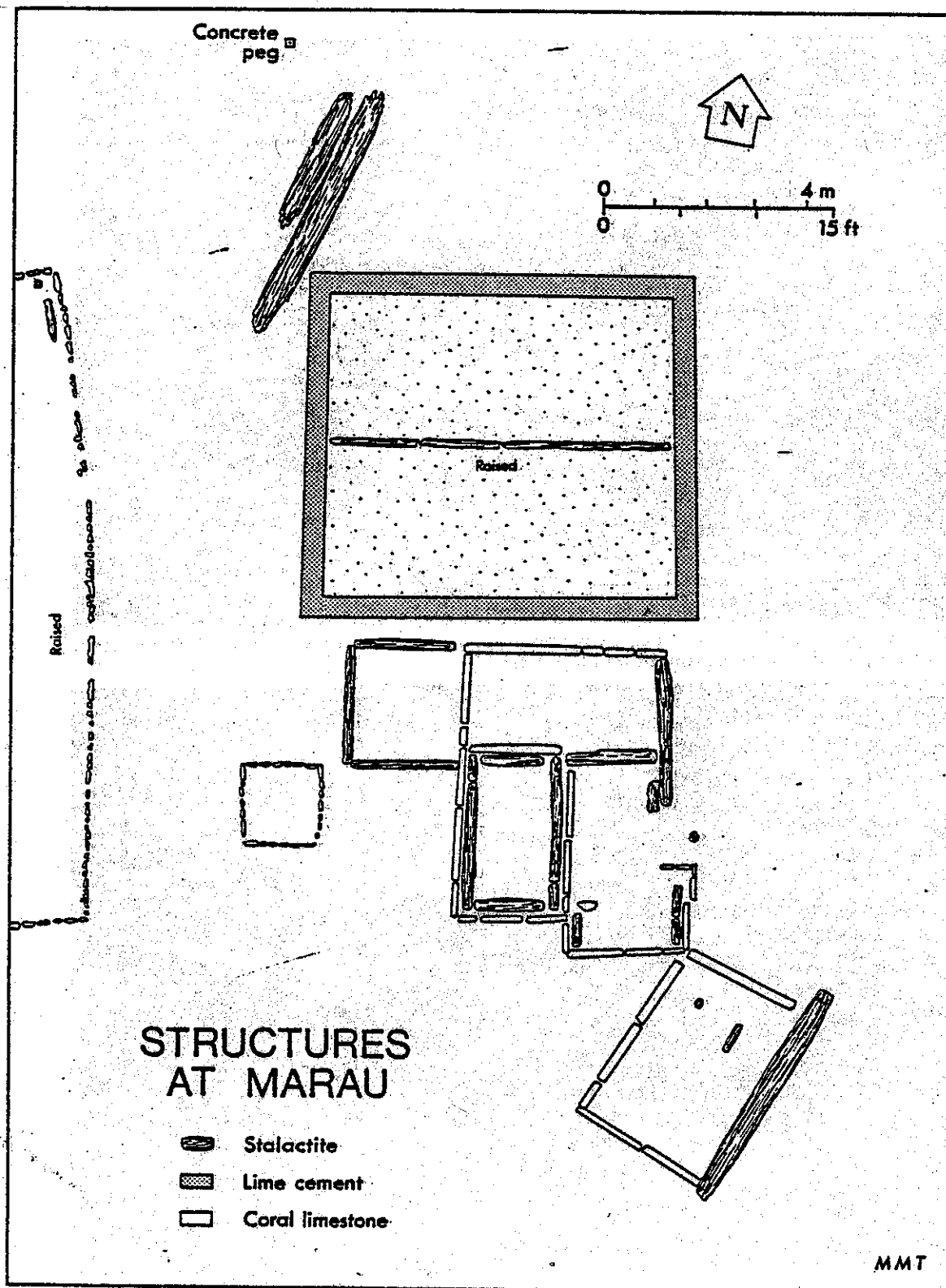


Figure 46. Plan of Site 9, Marau, Atiu.

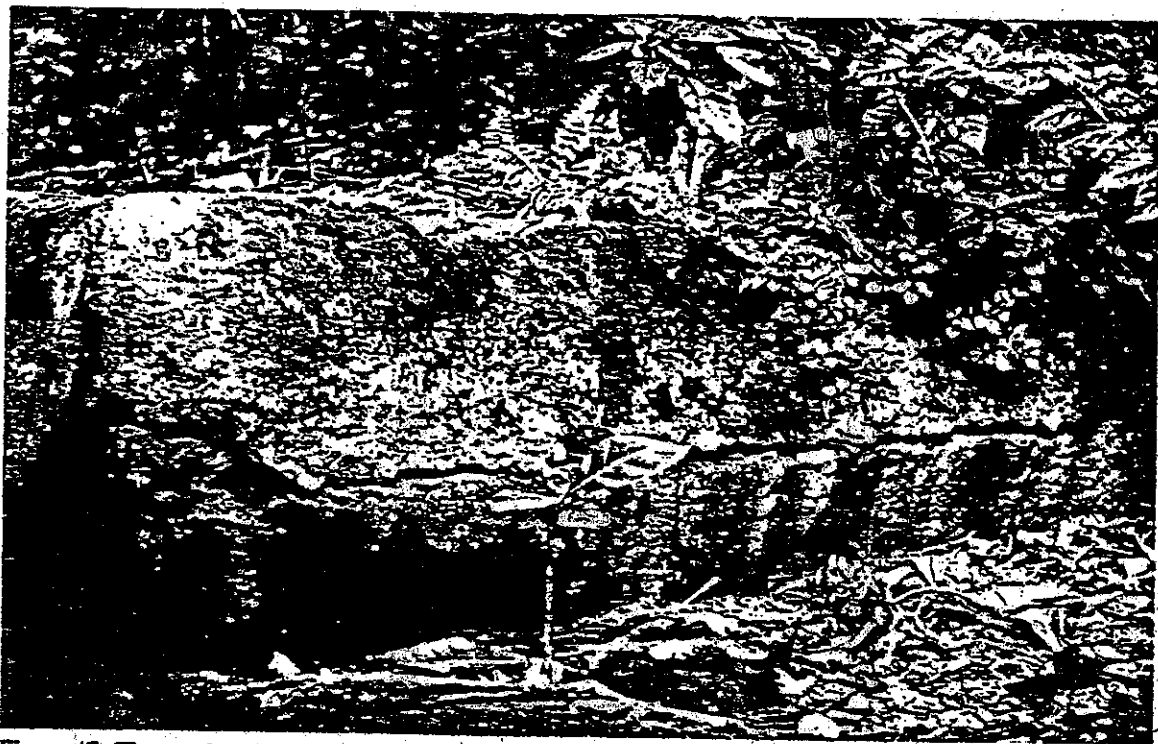


Figure 47. The north-east corner and part of the northern wall of the largest structure at Site 9, Marau, Atiu. The wall of this platform had been plastered with lime cement.

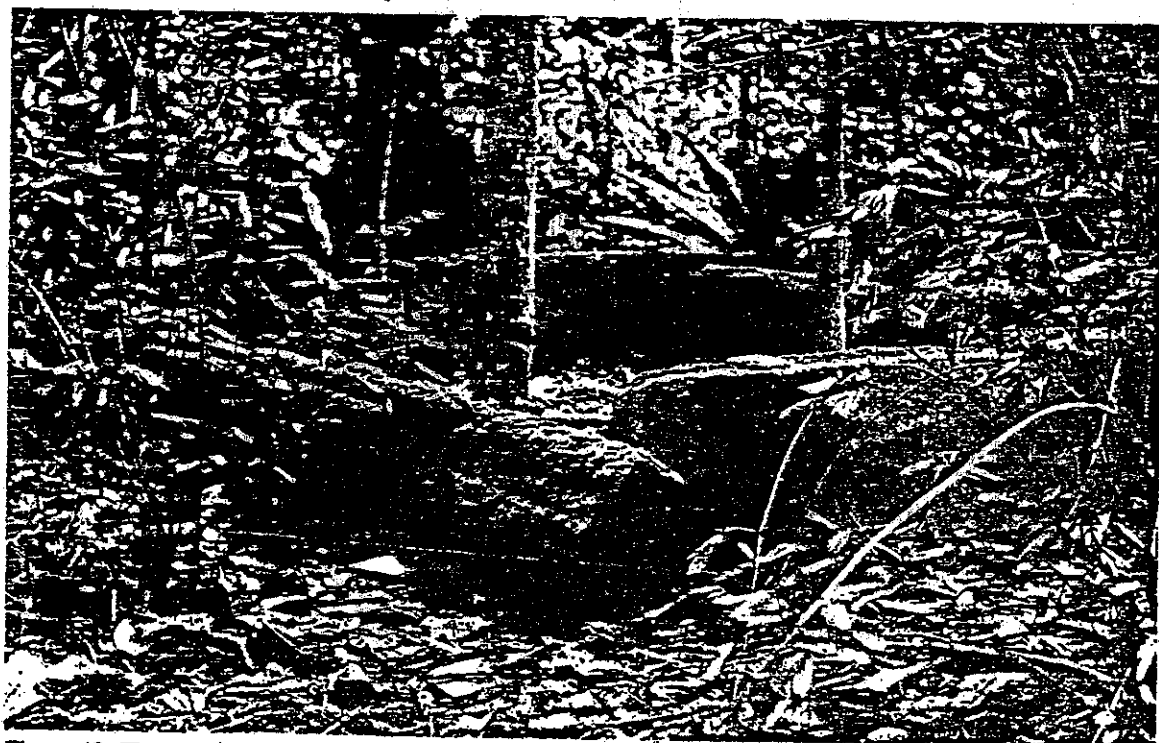


Figure 48. The southern-most structure at Site 9, Marau, Atiu, a rectangular enclosure made of slabs of coral limestone and a large stalactite.

plex of stone structures called Marau (Site 9). The largest structure at Marau (i.e. the northernmost rectangle in Figure 46) was earth platform approximately one metre high covered with coral gravel and retained by a wall seven metres by eight metres in outside dimensions. This wall was 60 centimetres thick at the top and probably thicker at ground level. It was made of slabs of coral limestone and rough fragments of makatea coral, and was plastered over with lime cement, the latter indicating that it was either built or renovated since missionary contact (Figure 47). A row of 10 centimetre diameter stalactites lay across the surface of the platform. Atiuans who had had no hesitation in entering the burial caves treated this structure with awe; no one was allowed on it - it was a place of mana.

Another platform at this site was not in such good condition. It was only ten to twenty centimetres high and bounded along the eastern side with a rough discontinuous line of makatea fragments (probably pieces had been moved out of position after its abandonment). North and south side walls each ran back about a metre to where the ground surface rose to the level of the platform. The southern side of this platform was not discernable amongst coral rubble, growing bush and vegetation debris.

Other structures at Marau were six rectangular enclosures marked out by pieces of makatea, stalactites and coral limestone slabs (see Figure 46). It was suggested that these were grave enclosures; no mana or tapu was attached to them.

Near the north-west corner of the northernmost rectangular structure - the raised platform that was plastered with lime cement - were two large stalactites, the larger being 5.5 metres long and over 50 centimetres in diameter. Besides those stalactites forming sides of other enclosures there were several pieces lying on or set in the ground at the site. There were also some basalt stones (which must have been obtained from one of the valleys in the volcanic hill) at the southern end of the largest stalactite mentioned above, two beneath the single stalactite wall of the south-easternmost enclosure, and a particularly large one, 1.38 metres by 63 centimetres, embedded in the ground fifteen metres east of the latter, and a little south of a very large tree. Coral gravel could be seen over an area some 35 metres east-west by 25 metres north-south and may have extended further.

The coral limestone slabs which had been used in the Marau structures are quite different from the rough fragments of makatea coral also used here and elsewhere. The slab limestone occurs naturally in sheets - that used for structures in Atiu was generally ten to twenty-five centimetres thick - from which approximately rectangular pieces were quarried. Most were fairly carefully shaped, presumably by picking or chopping at the limestone with a stone tool, such as an adze, along the edges; the flat surfaces would not have required trimming. One place where slab limestone occurred was near the Matai landing on the south side of the Island, but it may well occur elsewhere at places nearer to the sites on which it was used.

At Vairakaia, Site 20, was a 37 metre long wall of forty-seven limestone slabs forming the main retaining wall of an artificial terrace at the base of a north-facing slope; two short side walls extended back into the slope at each end (Figure 49). Behind the wall soil had been heaped up to a height of about 60 centimetres. Heavy bush cover and recent talus made it impossible to determine the original width of the level area formed, but I would estimate it to be at least ten metres. A row of stalactite sections lay on the surface behind the main wall and the easternmost side wall (see detail, Figure 49). Slabs varied in width from 30 centimetres to 137 centimetres and in height above ground level from 40 centimetres to 123 centimetres; they were from ten to fifteen centimetres thick. A small excavation made at one slab (the thirtieth from the eastern end) showed that it had been buried to a depth of 86 centimetres; it projected 1.23 metres above the ground. This particular slab and five others (e.g. Figure 51) in the main wall had been recessed on either side on top to produce the effect of a head-like projection. Similar modifications to the tops of vertical slabs have been reported from Tongareva in the Northern Cooks (Hiroa 1932: 155-156, Pl. 5C), and from the islands

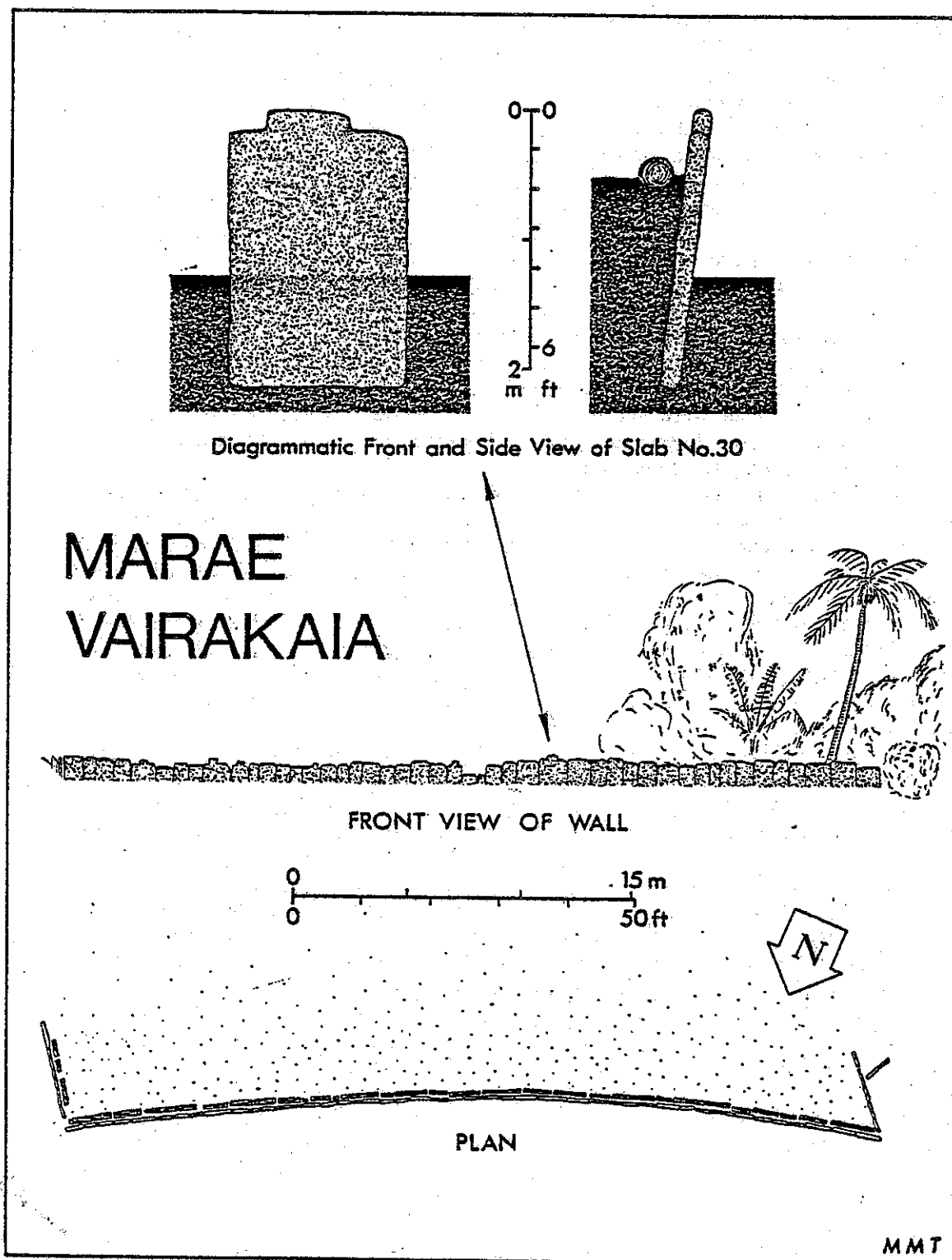


Figure 49. Plan, front view and details of Site 20, a terrace edged with a wall of coral limestone slabs, Vairakaia, Atiu.



Figure 50. Looking eastward along the slab wall at Site 20, Vairakaia, Atiu. Notice the half buried stalactites behind the slabs.

of Fakahina, Fagatau and Tatakoto of the Tuamotus group (Emory 1934a: 6-8, Pl. 1B and 3A), but in these cases they are marae uprights or "pillars". Shouldered slabs almost exactly like those at Vairakaia also occur in a rectangular wall enclosing a mound at Utungake on Vavau, Tongan Islands (Janet Davidson, personal communication 1971). The present Wesleyan church stands on this mound and McKern (1929: 27-28) was told that the slabs came from the facings of another older mound. McKern (1929: 14) has recorded other "monumental stones" with shaped tops on a nearby site, and Emory (1934b: 12-15; Pl. 2A) has described kerbing slabs with both lateral and face reductions on a square enclosure on Fanning Island. Most of the slabs of Vairakaia had been carefully shaped along the narrow sides so as to allow a close fit with adjacent slabs (e.g. Figure 52).

In front of the wall was a small stream which ran alongside taro cultivations across the floor of the valley. On a terrace above the site a probable habitation area was indicated by an area of scattered coral gravel (Site 21).

Four archaeological sites (numbers 13 to 16) were recorded in the village complex in the centre of the island, and at least two of these may be dated later than missionary contact, although it is quite possible that some of the materials used on them came from earlier sites.

Site 16, Apiripiri, is a rectangle roughly marked with stalactites and has a memorial to the Christian missionary arrival from Tahiti in A.D. 1823 adjacent to it. It is locally considered to be the remains of a marae where the first Christian sermon was preached. A smaller but better preserved rectangular enclosure of stalactites 250 metres to the north had no local history (Site 13) - it had a higher concentration of coral gravel scattered around outside the enclosure than inside it. I have marked both these sites on the map, Figure 35, as protohistoric, but apart from their location have no evidence as to their age.

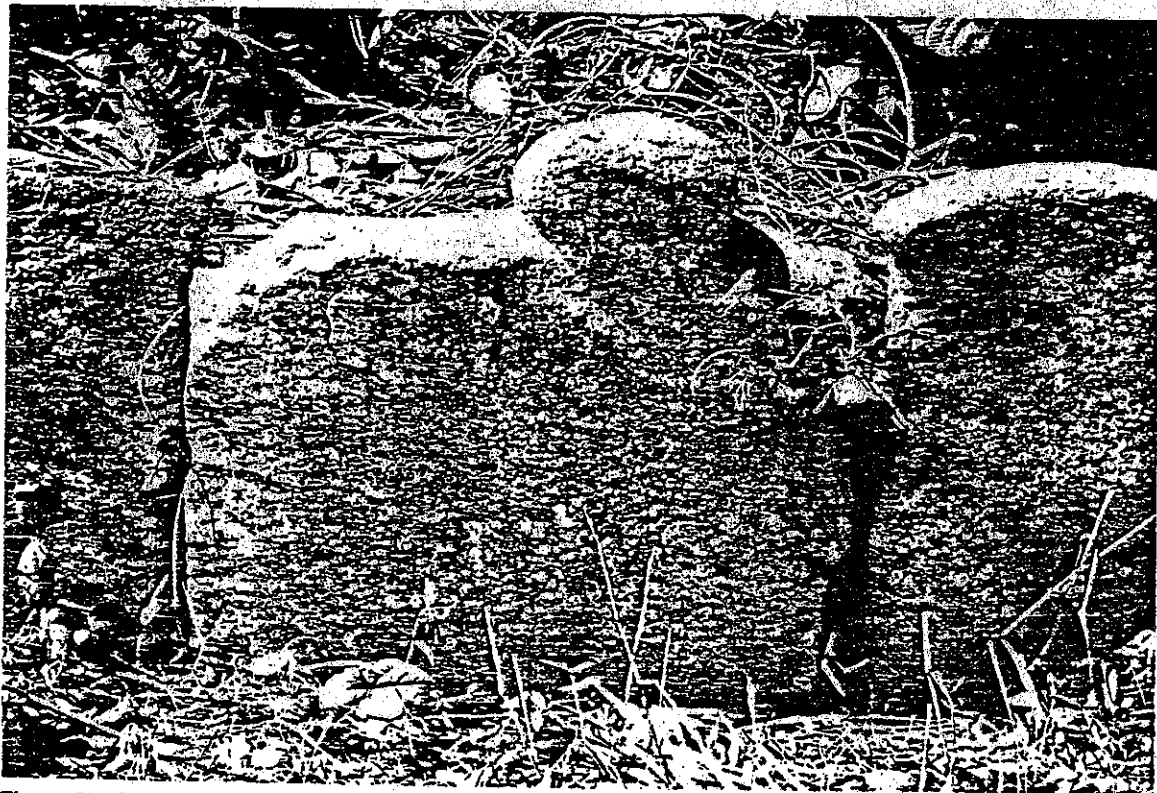


Figure 51. Coral limestone slab No. 15 in the main wall of Site 20, Vairakaia, Atiu, 84 cm wide by 26cm high. Six slabs in the wall had been shaped on top to produce the effect of a head-like projection.



Figure 52. An example of the careful shaping to allow coral limestone slabs to fit closely together. Slab No. 20 in the main wall of Site 20, Vairakaia, Atiu, 68 cm high.

Paikea, Site 14, comprised a platform 13 metres by 15.8 metres with a mean height of 28 centimetres above ground level, retained by a wall of small coral limestone slabs up to 10 centimetres higher than the platform, and spread with the inevitable coral gravel (Figure 53). About the middle of this platform a tomb structure containing a vault had been built of large slabs of coral limestone. Around the vault the structure had been filled with pieces of coral and plastered over on top with lime cement (Figure 54). It appeared to have subsequently been opened to obtain access to the vault, and further damage has been caused by trees and other vegetation growing on it. The original dimensions of this central structure were about 6.5 metres long by 3 metres wide and 2 metres high to the curved top of lime cement roof. The end walls had been strengthened by supporting stalactites. The vault, which was constructed of coral limestone slabs, was 3.5 metres long, 1.5 metres wide and 1.2 metres high, and was set partly below ground level. It had a plastered floor, and two stalactites which had no load-bearing purpose had been incorporated towards the back at one side. The eastern wall comprised a single large slab of coral limestone, the largest I saw on Atiu; it was at least 3.3 metres long, 1.2 metres high and 20 centimetres thick (possibly larger as the bottom and the end were covered). It must have taken considerable labour to move such slabs more than two and a half kilometres over rough makatea and up steep hillsides. On the plastered floor of the vault lay pieces of decaying wood, an iron bar, several shapeless pieces of rusted iron, a small bronze bell and several glass bottles, one being hand-made square-sectioned brown glass and branded B & D with crossed anchors.

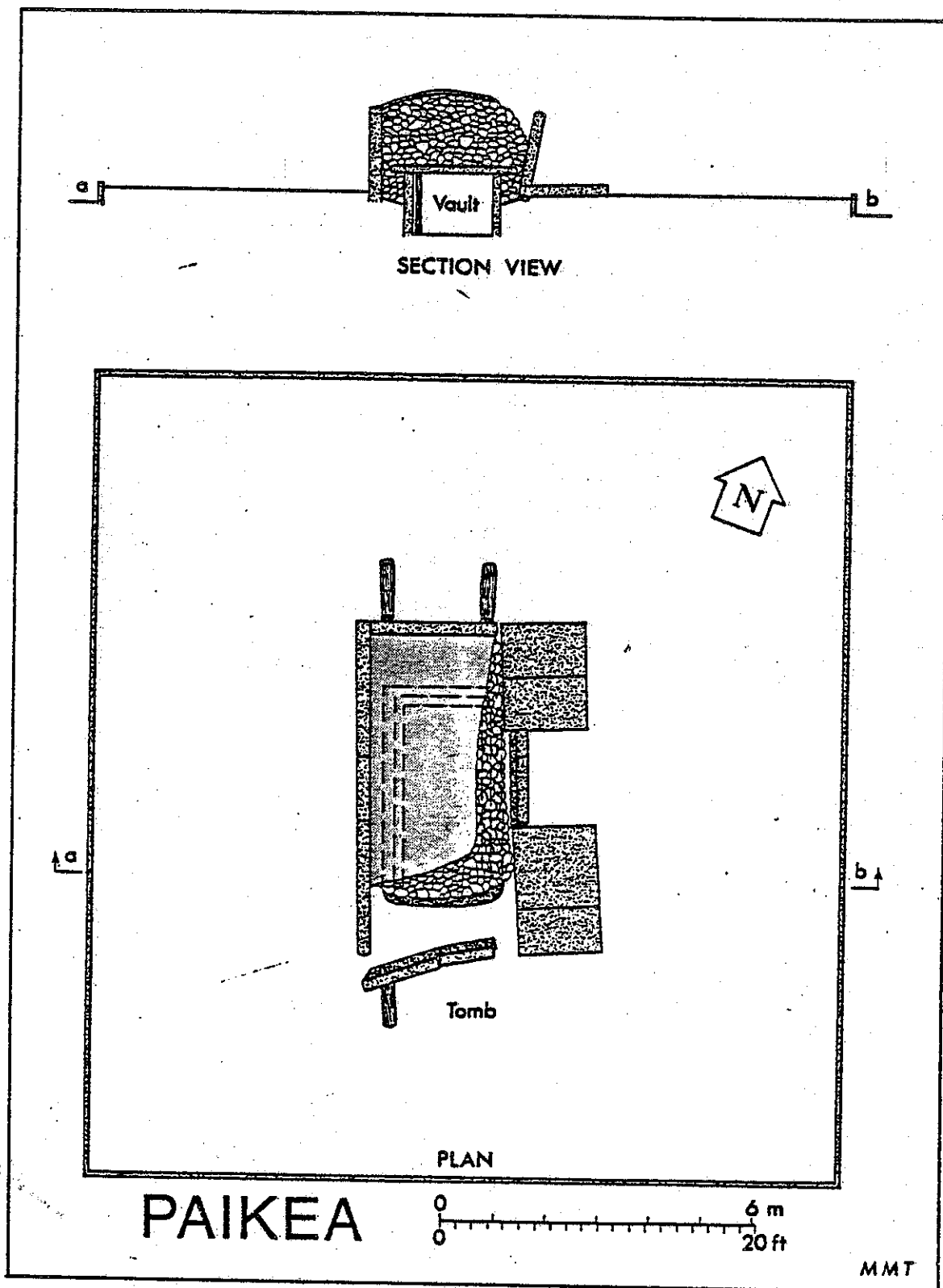
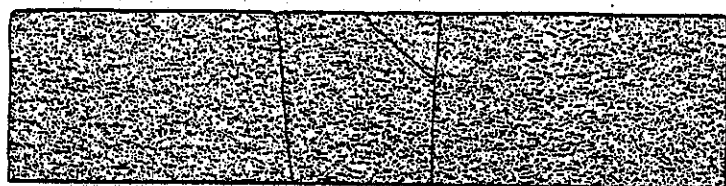
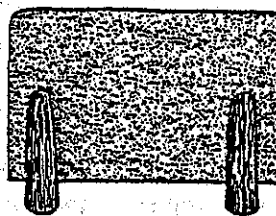


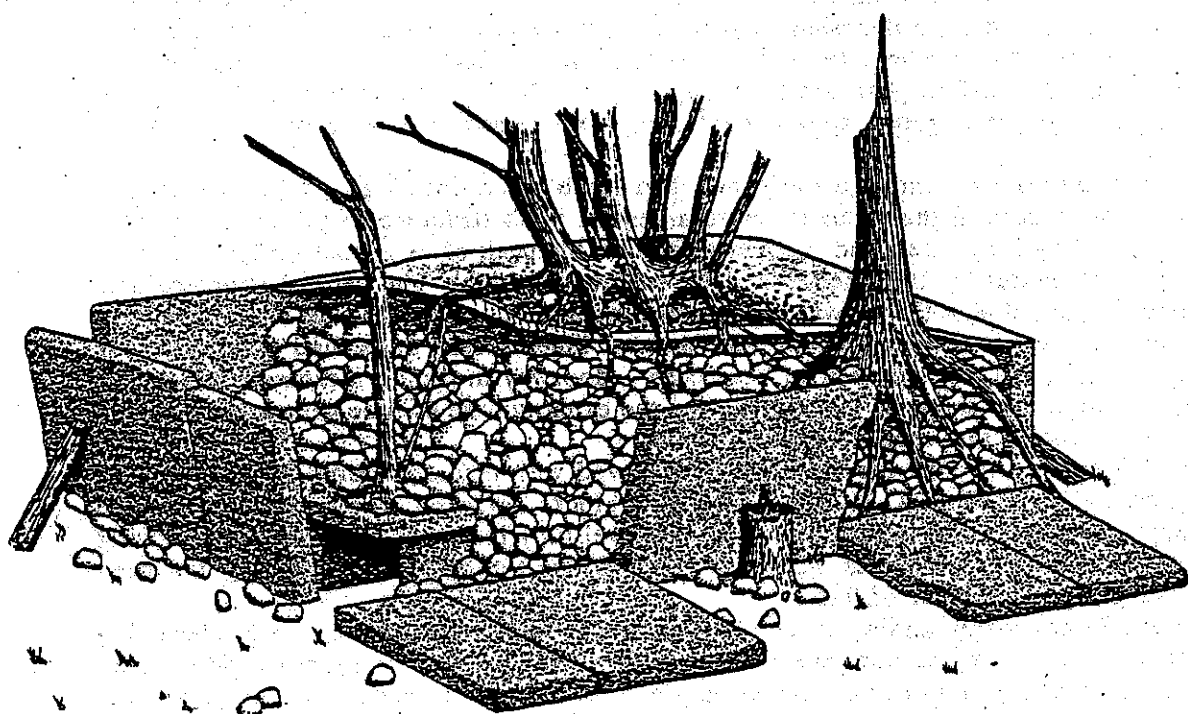
Figure 53. Plan and section of Site 14, Paikea, Atiu.



WESTERN WALL

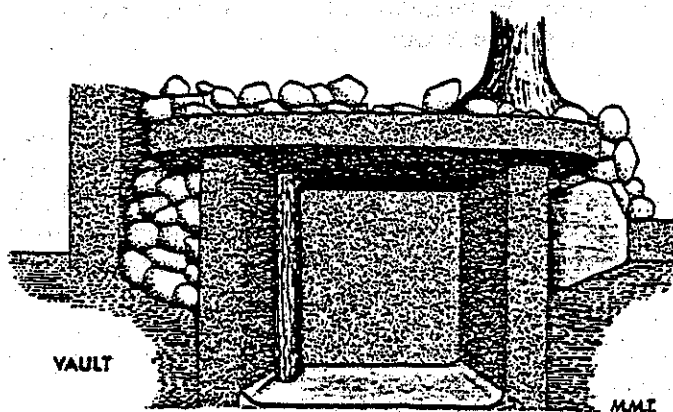


NORTHERN WALL



SIMPLIFIED PERSPECTIVE VIEW LOOKING TO WEST

PAIKEA TOMB



VAULT

M.M.T.

Figure 54. Perspective view and details of Site 14, a protohistoric tomb structure built on a platform.

I interpret the evidence of the lime cement plaster on the roof, vault floor and over cracks between slabs, to indicate a post missionary age for this structure. Much of the method of construction, the platform, the vertical limestone slabs and the use of coral gravel, seems to represent a prehistoric tradition, and even the vault itself might be likened to a burial cave especially considering the two upright stalactites added for effect. The vault was probably used to bury one or more people; the decaying wood is possibly the remains of a coffin; the other items burial goods or mementos. The remains of the bodies were doubtless removed because of a change in ideas or customs regarding the dead, or to follow a pre-Christian reburial custom. Thus I see Paikea to be the result of a combination of elements of Christian and pre-Christian (i.e. European and Polynesian) cultures. It reflects an aspect of the transition between the totally Polynesian way of life and the more European way of life now adopted. Similar structures have been recorded at Borabora, Society Islands, where they are reported as being post-European tombs of the royal family. In this case too the vaults were empty, bones and grave goods apparently having been removed to a secret cave (Emory 1933: 162-63).

Some fifty metres away through rough fern and scrub was a similar structure, Site 15, but in even worse condition than Paikea. Here a central tomb structure of plastered makatea coral (5 metres by 3.2 metres, and 2.8 metres high to the peak of its gabled roof) stood on a platform (12.2 metres by 10.7 metres and 85 centimetres high). The central structure had split open - largely due to the growth of ironwood trees on it - and quantities of coral rubble, with which it had been filled between its plastered lime cement walls, had fallen out. No vault was seen, but there appeared to have been a doorway in the northernmost end of the central structure. The shape of this edifice and the extensive use of lime cement suggested a later date of construction than Paikea.

Several footpaths through the bush had been paved with pieces of coral over very rough sections of makatea (Sites 24, 26, 30). The paving blocks, up to 60 centimetres across, were not trimmed and provided a surface which was level only in comparison to the underlying makatea surface. In some places, notably at Site 30, the top of the coral paving had been worn smooth by the passage of feet.

Near the Konakonako landing at the northern end of Atiu a trench-like hole has been dug into the top of the makatea cliff (Site 1). It was 2.5 metres long, 50 centimetres wide and 30 centimetres deep. Patches of lime cement on the coral around this excavation suggested that it had been covered with a rounded rectangular structure about 3.7 metres by 1.8 metres at its base and of unknown height. Local informants said that this was the burial place of one Marike and that the dome-shaped structure over it used to be used as a marker by which people travelling to the neighbouring island of Mitiaro, over forty kilometres eastward, could in some way set their course.

DISCUSSION

Most of the archaeological sites in Polynesia that are classified as *marae* are, or contain, specially prepared structures with paving or platforms and stone walls, often with stone uprights (see for example those described by Emory, 1970). On Atiu the term was used by the inhabitants for several sites that had a traditional history, yet appeared little different from habitational sites that had no traditional history or even names. In the appended list of sites, number 27, for instance, is a traditional *marae* called Katara, whereas number 18, which is similarly an area of scattered coral gravel and a stalactite, was unrecognized locally. Some indication as to whether or not these were mostly habitational or ceremonial sites could probably be got by excavation.

There is little similarity of the stone structures of Atiu with those recorded on other southern Cook Islands, except Mangaia where rectangular platforms outlined with slabs or

stalactites have been recorded by Peter Bellwood (pers. comm.). Slab limestone was used in various structures on a number of Polynesian islands, but this is probably an indication of the utilization of a locally available material rather than any cultural parallel in many cases. The shaping of such slabs on Tongareva, the Tuamotus, Tonga and Atiu, does however have at least some possibility of being due to cultural connection.

The prehistoric practice of cave burial on Atiu has been well known from the published report of Gruning (1937) and from artifacts obtained from burial caves by a series of visitors to the island. It is probable that the state of the caves seen in 1969 (as compared with Gruning's descriptions of numerous skeletons and burial goods) is due largely to such plundering; either directly by the artifacts and bones having been removed by European visitors, or indirectly by the Islanders hiding remaining items from visitors and by keeping the locations of caves secret.

Gruning's descriptions of two of the caves he visited could apply to two of those recorded; the Vaiari Cave, Site 4, may be the one in which he found "dug-out coffins, a very old wooden seat, and two somewhat rare phallic ornaments" (Gruning 1937:22); and Pau-atea, Site 32, is similar, particularly in regard to its entrance, to the one from which he obtained skulls that appeared to show traces of syphilis (Gruning 1937:24). In neither case however is there sufficient evidence for a definite identification.

While artifacts were still present in the Vaiari burial cave in 1969, none were "collectors pieces" and the general state of the cave's contents indicated considerable disturbance as if searches had been made for valuable items. The condition of the implements, blunted adzes and chisel, broken food pounders, is, I think, significant. Gruning (1937: 22-23) noted that "all the stone implements which I found in Atiu associated with human burials were much worn or broken suggesting a certain shrewdness on the part of the old-timers, which their descendants have certainly inherited". The breakage I saw appeared to have been deliberate and I suggest that it was done because of beliefs or customs associated with burials. The adzes, chisel, stool, pounders, coconut-fibre cord, polished coconut shells, and the square-sectioned bark-cloth beater in the Vaiari Cave were comparable with those recorded ethnographically for the Southern Cook Islands, as were other artifacts seen in the possession of Atiu families.

LIST OF SITES

The following sites are plotted on Figure 35 (page 96).

1. Marike's Tomb. A protohistoric trench cut in the makatea, said to have once contained the body of Marike. Size 2.5 by 0.6 metres with an average depth of 30 centimetres. There was evidence that there had been a raised lime cement structure over it, which was allegedly used as a marker during canoe voyages between Atiu and Mitiaro.
2. A habitation area indicated by scattered coral gravel (brought up from the beach), black stained soil, charcoal, burnt basalt stones, and flakes, near the Taunganui landing place.
3. An occupational area with coral gravel and some basalt stones. The site was not examined but an adze poll was found on the edge of it.
4. Vaiari Burial Cave. A small cave about 5 metres deep, and between one and two metres wide, in which were bone-containers made from cut sections of dug-out canoe hulls, scattered human bones, adzes, polished coconut-shells, two food pounders, a broken wooden stool, cordage, woven fabric, flakes, mollusc shells and coconut remains. Figure 41 - 43.
5. An area of scattered coral gravel, indicating an occupation site, on both sides of the path leading to the Vaiari burial cave (Site 4 above).
6. Te Ana-a-Raka. A large burial cave containing a few bones of six humans but no artifacts or burial goods. A thin coating of calcium carbonate had formed on some of the bones. Figure 40.

7. An earth oven 1.2 metres in diameter and 50 centimetres deep containing charcoal and burnt basalt stones, located when preparing the ground for coffee plants. Blackened soil and burnt stones on the surface indicated that there were others nearby.
8. A five metre long wall of rough coral blocks on the hillside above the previous site (Oven, Site 7). There were a few small basalt stones beside it.
9. Marau. An important ceremonial complex of eight rectangular structures outlined on the ground with slabs of coral limestone and sections of stalactites. The largest had been plastered with lime cement and enclosed a platform. Coral gravel had been placed on this platform and scattered around the structures. There were also some sections of stalactite and large basalt stones near the structures. Figures 46 - 48.
10. Te Ana-o-Kuekue. A burial cave containing small groups of human bones, many placed in crevices, but no artifacts or burial offerings apart from several pieces of decaying wood which appeared to have come from canoe hulls, and one end-piece of a canoe-hull bone-container.
11. Orongo. A marae with walls made mainly of rough coral blocks with some stalactites, and a row of markers or seats of stalactites. Figure 45.
12. A layer of black soil containing charcoal, burnt basalt stones and coral gravel visible at a depth varying from 25 centimetres to 60 centimetres in a road bank. There was a dry stone wall of coral blocks and some stalactites on the slope above the road - possibly part of an enclosure to retain pigs.
13. A rectangular structure of stalactites lying on the ground, with the surface slightly raised (10-15 centimetres) within the walls, and scattered coral gravel outside. Size, four metres by eight metres.
14. Paikaea. An impressive protohistoric burial vault on a rectangular platform, both built of coral limestone slabs, and with lime cement used on the vault structure. Coral gravel on the platform surface. No bones remaining in vault (which had been opened) but some decaying wood, metal objects and some glass bottles. Figures 53, 54.
15. A protohistoric burial vault built largely of lime cement, standing on a rectangular platform of coral limestone slabs and with coral gravel on the surface.
16. Apiripiri. Protohistoric marae marked by rows of stalactites lying on the ground.
17. Manoa. Traditionally a marae, with evidence of habitation given by scattered coral gravel and one large stalactite on a small triangular terrace overlooking a taro swamp.
18. An occupational site marked by coral gravel and one small stalactite set upright in the ground on a sea-cut terrace.
19. An occupational site on a terrace (immediately below Site 18) with coral gravel on the surface.
20. Vairakaia. A 37 metre long wall of coral limestone slabs, and two short side walls enclosing a level platform on three sides. There was a row of stalactites just inside the main wall and the eastern side wall lying on the raised surface. Figure 49 - 52.
21. Scattered coral gravel on a terrace above Vairakaia (Site 20).
22. A layer of occupational material (scattered coral gravel, beach shells and charcoal) visible in a road cutting leading to a taro swamp near the lake.
23. Scattered coral gravel of a habitation site on a low terrace by the lake edge. Portion of a basalt adze was found about 200 metres to the south-west.
24. A ten metre long section of paved pathway of selected pieces of makatea coral over a rough section of makatea.
25. Te Ana-o-Kovi. A cave in which two large stalactites had been broken from their original positions and moved toward the entrance. Outside the cave was a 30 metre long section of pathway paved with pieces of makatea coral.
26. A two hundred metre length of paved pathway through rough makatea.

27. Katara. Traditionally a marae, with scattered coral gravel and a stalactite giving evidence of habitation.
28. A basalt stone seat with a stalactite back-rest near the Arangirea marae (Site 29). Figure 44.
29. Arangirea. A traditional marae comprising a large area of coral gravel, several stalactites, and a small rectangular outline structure of coral blocks.
30. Several sections of paving on a path over the makatea; blocks of coral fitted together and worn smooth on top through use.
31. An occupational site marked by coral gravel (some burnt) and scattered marine shells.
32. Pau-atea Cave. Reputedly a burial cave although no bones were seen. Stumps of broken-off stalactites were covered with deposits of calcium carbonate. Figure 39.

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RONGOMATANE ARIKI VI Historical Ceremony at Atiu Island

By G. F. RUSSELL

ON AUGUST 9th, 1956, in an interesting blend of traditional Polynesian ritual and Christian ceremony, Tetupu Matafo was proclaimed Rongomatane Ariki on the island of Atiu, in the Lower Cook Group, in succession to his uncle, Rongomatane Maka Kea, who had held that office since 1930 and who died in the Rarotonga hospital on February 15th, 1956, highly regarded as a leader and a man.

A detailed account of this ceremonial event has come from the pen of Vaine Rere, headmaster of Atiu school, and it first appeared in the September issue of the *Cook Islands Review*, the Cook Islands Administration monthly newspaper published in Rarotonga.

Vaine Rere is one of the few full-blooded Cook Island Maoris who has both the background and confidence to record his thoughts and impressions in English with facility and charm, and the verbatim account that follows below is a fair sample of his style.

Available records show that the history of Atiu, third largest volcanic island of the Cook Group, has some variations on the general pattern usually associated with these little tropical outposts of New Zealand. A recorded genealogy of 47 generations points to Mariri Ariki as the earthly male ancestor of the people of Atiu. Tradition has it that he came from Avaiki-i-Raro, and that his son was named Atiu-mua (the first Atiu).¹

According to Vaine Rere, Mariri's full name was Mariri-tutu-a-Manu and his canoe was named Te Kutikuti rau Matangi. Kutikuti is the name of a swamp grass having a sharp pointed leaf with serrated edge. Rau Matangi is the term given to the edges of the decking on what we would call the sheer strake at the bow. The complete name clearly implies "the canoe with the cutting prow."

In spite of the title *ariki* given to Mariri in the genealogy mentioned, the Atiuans claim that their island was governed by a council of seven *mataiapo* until a generation or so prior to the arrival of the Rev. John Williams in the schooner *Endeavour* (renamed *Te Matamua*) in 1823, from Raiatea via Aitutaki.

By reason of the manner in which Williams revolutionised their lives, it is likely that his visit was regarded as the Western milestone in their lives and history rather than the visit of Captain Cook, who sighted Atiu on 31st March, 1777, on his third voyage. In the hope of securing fodder for his cattle, Cook dispatched three armed boats ashore under the command of Lieutenant Gore, of the *Resolution*.

¹ The author is indebted to Mr. J. Morgan, Chief Judge of the Land Court, Rarotonga, for the genealogical and traditional data on Atiu Island not otherwise covered in Vaine Rere's account or by the authors acknowledged below.

Gore, Burney (Lieutenant, *Discovery*), and Anderson (Surgeon *Resolution*), landed with Omai (actually Mai), Cook's useful and versatile Tahitian interpreter, and spent the whole day ashore, in some trepidation, even Omai being convinced that a large ground oven heating up nearby was preparation for a tasty foreign dish.

According to Anderson's account, which was recorded in detail by Cook, the shore party was introduced with considerable formality to three personages, separately located along the track up which they were led. Unfortunately no attempt is made to name them or indicate their social rank.²

Records indicate that Ngamaru was the first *ariki* title created, followed by the Rongomatane title a few months later. The first Rongomatane was named Tinokura and the weight of evidence suggests that his son, Ngaka'ara, was the Rongomatane who was, in spectacular fashion, won to Christianity overnight by the redoubtable John Williams.

Of this event Wyatt Gill records that, on Williams' arrival:—

The people of Atiu resolved to attack the little mission vessel. But Roma-tane (the "ngo" was omitted in Missionary records), the dominant chief of that day, was so astonished at the big "canoe" without outrigger or paddles, moving at its will over the ocean, that he prevented the execution of the plan by uttering the following poetical words, now become proverbial:—

By whose command shall an attack be made
On a race of gods from a nether world?
Shall a race of weaklings
Dare to molest so wise a people?
Look at yon vessel
Gaze at its masts
At its multitudinous, innumerable ropes.³

Just prior to Williams' arrival Rongomatane Ngaka'ara had laid waste to the two subject islands of Mitlaro and Mauke. Upon conversion he lost no time in revisiting them in Williams' vessel to command that they, too, adopt this one all-powerful god. Atiu was formally known as *Enua Manu*, Mauke as *Akatoka-Manava*, Mitlaro as *Nukuroa*, and the three islands collectively as *Nga-pu-toru*.⁴

It was Ngaka'ara who furnished Williams with the sailing directions that led to the "discovery" of Rarotonga by Williams and from that base, the eventful evangelisation of the whole group. In actual fact Captain Goodenough of the trader *Cumberland*, spent some months at Rarotonga in 1814 and is regarded as the first European to land there.

From some time prior to 1823, then, Atiu has had three *ariki* of equal authority, although individual *mana* waxed and waned according to the fortunes of war and, later, in ratio with strength of leadership and personality. According to Wyatt Gill this tripartite division of land

² Cook 1786:180-204.

³ Gill 1885.

⁴ Large 1913:67-76.

and chieftainship also extended to the two subject islands mentioned above. The third *ariki*-ship bears the title of Parua, and all three are branches of the same ancestral family.

Ngamaru Rongotini Ariki married Makea Takau, who later became one of the *ariki*s of Rarotonga, a lady of great attainments who visited New Zealand and was one of the leading figures in the protracted negotiations that led to the British protectorate of 1888 and the cession to New Zealand in 1901. Rongotini was also an impressive figure in his day and the marriage forged a close link between the two islands.

The newly proclaimed Rongomatane is the sixth person to hold the title. Tutavake, featured as an important ancestor in the ceremonial chant reprinted below, is not traceable in the available historical records, but the name is still found among the present people of Atiu. As likely as not this could be another instance of identity being lost by reason of a personal name being discarded for a title.

It is unusual today to capture even a partial picture of the exercise of traditional Polynesian ritual in the Cook Islands. Here is Vaine Rere's account of the recent impressive ceremony at Atiu:—

Recognition:

When his father, Rongomatane Mataio Kea Ariki, died at Rarotonga in 1930, Tetupu Mataio was officially recognised as the succeeding Rongomatane, but owing to the fact that he was at that time only one year of age, he could not be elected to the Ariki title until he attained the age of 18 years or more. It was therefore resolved that during his absence of many years at school in New Zealand, and later in the army during World War II, the vacant title should be held by his uncle, the late Maka Kea, who became Rongomatane Ariki in 1930 until he died after a prolonged illness in the Rarotonga hospital last February. A message was dispatched by the Ngati Paruarangi tribe to call Tetupu back to Atiu to take up his new position. Preparations proceeded shortly after his arrival and on the 9th August, 1956, the investiture took place.

Investing with Ariki Robe:

Most likely the manner of installing an *ariki* on Atiu differs in many ways from the methods adopted on the other islands in the Group. Much of the original customs, speeches, or reciting of the incantation (*Karakia*) have always been strictly observed during the ceremony, even today. Before proceeding to church the new chief was led to Ngati-Tiaki-Tauvira tribal abode where he must be invested with a special but simple Ariki robe of white material whose trimmings and bindings were crinkled with soft red material, thus exhibiting the dignity and power of the Ariki. The Maro Ariki (Loin Cloth of High Chief) indicated that the new Ariki was girded to the service of his new office as well as to the service of his people. It also symbolised his being personally bound to his loyal subjects.

Thus adorned Tetupu was rejoined by his escorts and his wife, and the procession now took a solemn march to the L.M.S. Church. Along the entire road sentries were posted on either side keeping it strictly *taboo* and forming arches with crossed spears under which the procession passed. Important guests such as the Resident Agent, Ngamaru and Parua Ariki, Orometua, and special guests including the Okirua Tere party, now joined the procession.

The Consecration Service:

In the olden days the installation of an *ariki* on the island must be carried out on the *Marae-i-Orongo* (Courts at Orongo), believed to be the most sacred court of Tutavake Ariki, and a place where offerings were made to the god Rongo. A high chief would not be regarded as such if his investiture was carried out elsewhere. But today our procession headed for the L.M.S. Church instead of the *marae*. No sooner had the Ariki entered the church than the congregation rose to the tune of the Sanctus, "Holy! Holy! Holy!" sung by the Sunday School choir. The first part of the service completed, the Ariki's Oath followed. He rose and stood before the minister, his right hand laid on the table. Then the minister began:—

Minister: Tetupu, do you accept this call for you to take the office of an Ariki for Ngati Paruarangi?

Ariki: I do accept, God be my help.

Minister: Do you promise to obey and rule under the guiding hand of Almighty God?

Ariki: I do promise, God be my help.

Minister: Will you bind your people in unity with the cord of Peace, and keep them as one flock under one keeper?

Ariki: I will, and God be my help.

The Crowning and Anointing:

The congregation rose as the Ariki made his last promise, whereupon the Minister Tupou Apolo held up the Crown and in a loud clear voice, he said, "Tetupu! In the name of the Trinity of Heaven, I crown you as RONGOMATANE TETUPU ARIKI," and the crown descended upon his head and rested with a perfect pose. Then came the most sacred part of the ceremony, which was regarded as the most important, the anointing. As he raised his hand, holding in it the bottle of oil, the minister continued: "And I anoint you as an Ariki in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. May the Trinity of Heaven watch over you upon your throne, now and for ever more. Amen."

Other proceedings of the ceremony followed and the service was concluded with the Benediction and God Save the Queen.

Karakia (Incantation):

On his arrival back from church the Ariki seated himself upon the supposed-to-be Chair of Investiture in the Ngati-Tiaki-Tauvira pa, the

present-day Marae-i-Orongo. Soon Ukarau Mateariki, reciter of the incantation, appeared on the courts. His attitude and fierce look; his headgear and pre-European dress suggested heathenism; the spear in his hands posed shakingly as if ready to strike; his steps slow and cautious as he approached the chief. As far as the Atiuans are concerned this used to be a moment of great suspense and anxiety, because of its tragic results should the incantation go wrong. Superstitions, one might be inclined to say, but there was the case when one *ariki* was elected, the reciter lost all the incantation; even the trumpeter could not get a sound out of his trumpet. Result? That *ariki* reigned only for seven months.

Now Ukarau reached his appointed position and having menacingly driven his spear into the earth in front of him he let out a loud and long shout of "Ei . . . e . . . Ko Ko . . . oi" Such was the beginning of the incantation. Then the Warning:—

*Akarongo mai koe e taku Ariki!
Me karakia au e topa taku Karakia,
E au toou ka poto;
Me kore ra taku Karakia e topa,
E au toou ka roa!*

Take heed, Oh my chief!
If I miss the Incantation in reciting,
Your reign will be short;
But if it ends without a hitch,
Your reign will be long!

(The Karakia):

*Ka tika, ka tika, kare aku tuitui . . . , kare aku paua . . .
kare aku rivetau!
E tupuranga ariki, e neke 'anga enua;
Ka tupu ki te nu . . . i, ka tupu ki te ra . . . i;
Ka tupu ki Itingaei.
Ka oi te po . . . ! Ka oi te ao . . . ! Ka oi te ra . . . !
Ka oi te mara . . . mai! Ka oi te au etui!
E enua ko Avaiki: E Ariki ko Tutavake.
Ko Tutavake ka noo i te vaine ia Aumea-ki-aitu,
Anau tana tamaiti, ko Turi-arau.
Ko Turi-arau ka noo i te vaine ia Ina-Tokoua-Kura,
Anau tana tamaiti, ko Tutonga.
Ariki atu ei ki tona Koutu!
Tana Pu . . . ui! Tana Pa . . . ui!
E pu e pau e akaariki e . . . o . . . !
Mas . . . va!*

(Trumpet and drum are sounded and the people signify their acceptance of the new *ariki* by loud and long repeated shouts of "Mas . . . va!")

Translation of the Karakia:

Verily, verily! No light (*tuitui*) have I; neither food (*paua*)
nor sceptre (*rivetau*)!
Ariki may exist, land may shift;
It grows bigger, it keeps growing;
It grows at Itingalei.
Night may come and go; the day, the sun, the moon
And stars; may all come and go.
The land is Avaiki, the Ariki is Tutavake.
Tutavake took the woman Aumea-ki-aitu,
And begot the child, Turi-arau.
Turi-arau took the woman Ina-Tokoai-Kura,
And begot the child Tutonga.
Thus he became an Ariki upon his Koutu.
His Trumpet! His Drum!
Trumpet and Drum for the Investiture!
Mae . . . va! (Acclamation by the people.)

So ends the Karakia that proclaims the new Ariki as officially elected and fully recognised by the people. The Ariki now is taken to the table upon which is spread a bounteous feast to which all officials and special guests are invited to partake. In his speech the new Rongomatane Ariki pledged himself to the service of his people and his island.

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**FROM ASCENDENCY TO DEPENDENCY
THE POLITICS OF ATIU**

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From Ascendancy to Dependency

The Politics of Atiu

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ATIU IS A SMALL OUTER ISLAND OF THE WIDELY SCATTERED COOK GROUP, WITH an area of 10 square miles and a population of about 1,500 living by subsistence agriculture and small-scale cash cropping. Legend, history and present practice indicate that in the pre-contact period the island was controlled by chiefs (*ariki*) selected by a system of qualified primogeniture and supported by *mataiapo* (heads of sub-tribal groups) who were supported in turn by *rangatira* (heads of extended families).¹ Bonds of real or fictive kinship linked the whole populace. How much a chief was guided by the wishes of the lesser leaders probably varied, and verbal tradition and literary references agree that during the early period of settlement overall power did not rest exclusively with any one group for long without being challenged.²

After a war successfully led by an immigrant warrior, the 'au o Mokoero', the rule of Mokoero,³ was established and lasted during the reign of 12 chiefs until the arrival of the mission in 1823. The rule of Mokoero was far from always peaceful and may have been discontinuous.⁴

Tradition describes the island as divided into seven groups, six of which were headed by a *mataiapo* and the seventh by the chief of Mokoero. Together they met in council to discuss matters of concern to the island as a whole. At least some meetings ended in physical conflict. How long or effectively this council operated is not known, but late in the 18th century the Mokoero line divided and three chiefly titles were created—in order of creation, and thus of ceremonial priority, Ngamaru, Rongomatane and Parua, titles which have persisted to the present day. The *mataiapo* continued in existence, but their influence seems to have diminished relative to that of the three chiefs.

Though tribes were interrelated and the three chiefs were members of the same ancestral family, intertribal allegiances changed from time to time. Occasional intertribal warfare took place and at the time of first Western contact the government was not a stable unitary hierarchy but rather a group of three small hierarchies in a state of actual or potential flux.

¹ The term 'chiefs' used throughout this paper refers to *ariki*.

² R. W. Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia* (Cambridge, 1924), I, 296-7.

³ Mokoero is the name of the *marae* or sacred ground of the chiefs of this line.

⁴ J. T. Large, 'Some notes on Atiu Island', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, XXII (1913), 67-76.

At this time only males were eligible for chieftainship (although during the mission period the idea of female chiefs became acceptable), and the authority of the chiefs was supported by the belief that they were descended from the gods, thus possessing occult powers and exercising priestly functions.⁵

visitors found Atiu less attractive than Rarotonga, Mangaia and Aitutaki—partly because it has neither harbour nor anchorage, the coastal lands are rugged and unproductive, and fresh water is scarce; and partly because the population was small and reputedly aggressive. After Captain Cook, missionaries of the London Missionary Society were the first Europeans to come to the island. They took considerable interest in political as well as religious affairs and their arrival during the 1820s led to great changes in both religious and governmental systems; in fact they drafted all written legislation before the declaration of the British Protectorate in 1888.

One of the early influences they had on the authority pattern of Atiu was through the resettlement of the population at their instigation in contiguous villages on the high plateau in the centre of the island. This must have facilitated unitary leadership, for previously the people had lived in scattered groups, mostly on the lower slopes near their gardens. But whereas in Rarotonga and Aitutaki the large new settlements came under the direct and powerful influence of a permanent English missionary, Atiu was left throughout the 19th century in the care of Tahitian or Cook Islands pastors who, having less property, skill and prestige than their English counterparts, were unable to exert the same political influence. Most Polynesian pastors became connected by marriage to the family of a chief, 'whose will in such cases becomes the teacher's law'.⁶ As strangers they could not get land, and consequently food or income, without the approval of at least one chief. The tendency to centralize made greater power available to the chiefs. Where there was strong chiefly control (as in Atiu and Mangaia) they were able to manipulate the church to their advantage, and on Atiu successfully resisted the influence of English and Polynesian missionaries in political affairs during the whole of this period.⁷ Attempts by the missionaries to influence secular matters generally were unsuccessful and in 1882 the Rev. G. A.

⁵ W. Wyatt Gill to Directors, 28 Aug. 1878, South Seas Letters, London, London Missionary Society (hereinafter L.M.S.). The writer has frequently heard people on Atiu claim that the old chiefs possessed such powers.

⁶ William Gill to Directors, 18 June 1845, South Seas Letters, L.M.S.

⁷ In 1878 the Aitutakian pastor at Atiu tried to resist control by the chiefs who consequently threatened to expel him and take over his position. A compromise was reached by the resident pastor being replaced by an Atiuian who had been trained at the mission college in Rarotonga. W. Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific* (London, 1895), 40.

Harris, writing of the chiefs, had to admit 'most of the power . . . is in their hands'.⁸

No formal council of chiefs existed, and at times one or two are spoken of as being dominant, and at others the three are rated as equals. Lieutenant Gore gave no indication of the relative status of the three chiefs he met.⁹ In 1823 John Williams considered Rongomatane Ngaakaara to be paramount chief,¹⁰ but while he and most of the fighting men were away at Mauke 'the people of the Makatea region tried to gain control'.¹¹ Rongomatane was unable to persuade all Atiuans to become Christian until some Tahitian Christians were 'miraculously' saved from a storm by being cast adrift at Atiu.¹² In 1835 Pitman referred to the one 'man in authority', and 10 years later Gill referred to Paulo as Chief Judge and 'the principal chief of the island'.¹³ But in the same year Buzacott wrote of several chiefs and in the next reference is made to two principal chiefs.¹⁴ Various instances of disaffection and dissension were recorded, and on one occasion the arrival of a missionary prevented a land quarrel developing into armed conflict.¹⁵

Opposition to external authority and resentment of any implication of inferiority were probably strengthened by Atiu's tradition of successful conquest and colonization. The island of Manuae had been subject to the 'King of Atiu' in 1777, and both Mauke and Mitiaro had been under Atiu domination for some time prior to the arrival of the first missionaries in 1822.¹⁶ To the present day the island of Takutea (which is not permanently settled) belongs to the people of Atiu.¹⁷

The greatest recorded range of pre-contact travel from Atiu was 120 miles to Rarotonga, and post-contact opportunities for travel had important effects on the political system. Young men left the island in large numbers as ships' crews and labourers (for example a random group of 54 labourers recruited in Tahiti for Starbuck Island in 1878 included 13 Atiuans and the ship they

⁸ G. A. Harris to Directors, 28 July 1882, South Seas Letters, L.M.S.

⁹ James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World . . .*, 2nd ed. (London, 1785), IV, 1350-1.

¹⁰ John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (London, 1837), 84.

¹¹ Patrick Marshall, *Geology of Rarotonga and Atiu*, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 72 (Honolulu, 1930), 48.

¹² J. Montgomery (comp.), *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet Esq. in the South Sea Islands . . . 1821-9* (London, 1831), II, 121.

¹³ Charles Pitman to Directors, 26 June 1835; William Gill to Directors, 18 June 1845, South Seas Letters, L.M.S.

¹⁴ Aaron Buzacott to Directors, 18 Aug. 1845; William Gill to Directors, 16 June 1846, South Seas Letters, L.M.S.

¹⁵ Buzacott to Directors, 18 Aug. 1845, *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole . . .*, IV, 1364; Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, I, 295.

¹⁷ See below, fn. 39.

sailed on had two Atiuan sailors)¹⁸ Many settled in Rarotonga and others went to various islands as pastors. The missionaries frequently mentioned that relatively few who left Atiu ever returned. Thus potential rebels could go elsewhere. Visitors from other places introduced new concepts, such as the notion of a trained bodyguard for the chiefs which was brought by a Tahitian. The chiefs themselves got new ideas of chiefly rights and privileges from visits to Tahiti and Rarotonga. Chief Ngamaru Rongotini spent £600 not including labour or food for the workmen on a two-storeyed mansion which he furnished in European fashion.¹⁹ In pre-contact times the residences of island chiefs were of thatch and timber like those of their subjects, and the scale and design of Rongotini's house indicates a change in the chiefs' status and economic power relative to the rest of the community.

The ability of the chief to amass resources for such a venture derived from his pre-contact functions. The traditional self-sufficient Polynesian economy was not conducive to the accumulation of wealth. The collection and distribution of products for tribal consumption was subject to chiefly control, but most of them had to be consumed immediately. However with the development of trade, chiefs used this precedent to become middlemen in the sale of cash crop exports such as arrowroot and coconut oil and fresh foods to whalers and other vessels, taking advantage of their traditional position to manipulate the resources of the tribe. Similarly, traditionally the chief was nominal trustee but not owner of the tribal lands, but they had no money value and his interests were best served by making them available and keeping the support of the warriors on whom he depended for his security. But with peace increasingly stable, and a market, and thus a cash value, for the produce of the land, dependence on subordinates was reduced and opportunity for gaining wealth and power increased. It was in the interests of the chiefs to encourage commerce, which they did through patronage of the agents of trade—European or Chinese traders. When the trader Lamont visited the island in 1852 he found two market houses at the landing place, both under the control of the chiefs,²⁰ and the only permanent European resident on the island at that time was an English trader who lived in a house belonging to, and next to that of, the chief. From about 1863 Richard Exham, another English trader, spent 14 years in the same relationship to Ngamaru Rongotini.²¹

Before the arrival of the missionaries, political, religious, economic and

¹⁸ J. Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises . . .*, 97; W. Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific*, 43.

¹⁹ Wyatt Gill, *op. cit.*, 42.

²⁰ E. H. Lamont, *Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders* (London, 1867), 92-101.

²¹ Wyatt Gill to Directors, 30 Aug. 1877, Report on visit to outstations. London, L.M.S.

judicial power tended to be less differentiated on Atiu, and to be exerted by the same persons; but the mission period saw four major adjustments in chiefly authority. The first was the loss of the islands of Mauke and Mitiaro which Atiu had been accustomed to prey upon for food and women. Sovereignty over the islands was not relinquished outright; but it had previously been maintained by military action and when this was opposed by L.M.S. agents, the people of Mauke stopped rendering tribute. Armed expeditions from Atiu during the 1840s found the people of Mauke had been supplied with muskets by a resident European trader, and returned home without a battle.²² Mitiaro, a smaller, closer and less populous island, was attacked at least twice during the period, but most of the time peace prevailed, and this unstable relationship between the islands endured until cession. Secondly, though the chiefs retained a strong position in the religious field, their personal sanctity was diminished by the transfer to the pastor of the role of intermediary between gods and men.

But their domestic political authority was enhanced by centralization of the population and the adoption of a single religious system. Furthermore their economic resources were greatly increased—both by their new role in trade and by the cash value of their judiciary powers, the fines they levied being shared between judge and policeman.²³

The chiefs probably lost status on the first two issues, but gained considerably on the last two.

THAT the British Protectorate (1888-1901) came to Atiu was largely incidental. Its origin lies in the pressures of mission and commercial interests in Rarotonga acting both directly and through the chiefs, together with the active interest of the New Zealand Government. Chief Ngamaru of Atiu was married to Makea Takau, a high chief of Rarotonga, and at the time living on Rarotonga. He supported the requests for protection, though he certainly did not initiate them, and accompanied Captain Edmund Bourke when he visited Atiu on 30 October 1888 to declare the British Protectorate and proclaim a policy of non-interference with the administration of the chiefs.²⁴

Bourke observed that the laws in the outer Cook Islands (i.e. Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro, Mangaia and Aitutaki) were similar, made by the chiefs in

²² [E. Lucett], *Roivings in the Pacific* (London, 1851), II, 122.

²³ Capt. Edmund Bourke to Admiralty, 13 Nov. 1888. London, Colonial Office, C.O. 225. Frederick J. Moss, 'Maori Policy', *New Zealand Parliamentary Papers* (hereinafter *N.Z.P.P.*), A3, 1894 (Wellington), p. 7.

²⁴ 'All laws and customs at present recognized will remain in force and their [the chiefs'] administration over the districts will not be interfered with', Bourke, Letter to ariki, 27 Oct. 1888. Rarotonga, Resident Commissioner's Office.

council, usually acting under the missionaries; but mission influence was probably lowest in Atiu. He also noted that land at Atiu, Mauke and Mitiaro was controlled by the chiefs to whom the occupiers made payments in labour and kind.²⁵

The declaration of the Protectorate brought about the political consolidation of the lower Cook Islands, which were already culturally, linguistically and geographically closely related. For Atiu it was the first formal acceptance of external authority. The status of the chiefs was confirmed and strengthened, for their government was to remain without interference and as this government was not defined the chiefs were free to act with the assurance of British support. Potential intertribal warfare was forestalled by the knowledge that this could result in the visit of a warship.

Until 1891 the only representative of British protection in the Cook Islands was Richard Exham, the former Atiu trader, who moved to Rarotonga and became Acting British Vice Consul. Then Frederick Moss was appointed British Resident, to 'act as adviser to the chiefs in the drafting of legislation and the administration of the laws'.²⁶ He was instructed by the Governor of New Zealand to recognize and support the existing chiefly government—but apart from persuasion, his only control was by power of veto over legislation. After initial attempts to effect major changes throughout the group, Moss concentrated on problems in Rarotonga, and the only formal legislation that seems to have been passed for Atiu during his regime (1891-8) was the annual Appropriation Act.

Moss aimed to establish responsible and representative government on each island, and a federation of the Cook Islands. A Federal Parliament was formed in Rarotonga in 1891 under Makea Takau. A constitution act was passed which provided that each island would 'continue to govern itself as much as possible'; each island would send representatives to the Federal Parliament which would meet at least once annually; members would be chosen 'in such manner as the local laws of the district may direct' and paid \$30 per annum; and all *ariki* would be *ex officio* members of the government.²⁷ The Federal Government drew most of its revenue from Rarotongan import tariffs and stamp sales. Small subsidies were paid to the outer islands and Moss established a local council on each for expending the federal grant, to act as agent of the Federal Government and to manage the island's domestic affairs.

²⁵ Bourke to Admiralty, 13 Nov. 1888.

²⁶ R. P. Gilson discusses the position of the Resident in 'Administration of the Cook Islands (Rarotonga)', M.Sc. (Econ.) thesis, University of London (London, 1952), 147-52.

²⁷ No. 1. A Law to Provide for the Good Government of the Cook Islands (June 1891), N.Z.P.P., A3A, 1891, Session 11, pp. 6-7.

Atiu received nothing in the first year, and \$440 the year after, plus a special subsidy of \$160 in aid of the *ariki* courts and police of Atiu, Mauke and Mitiaro.²⁸ The administration of these subsidies and the constitution of the council is not known, but Moss reported soon after his arrival that: 'Each Ariki . . . governs his or her own territory, and carries out or disregards, at his or her pleasure, the laws passed by the General Council for that island . . .'.²⁹ Appointments to responsible and influential posts in the island rested mainly with the chiefs who chose the members of the Federal Parliament.³⁰ Tereaa, the judge on the island, and Utakea who replaced him on his death, were both leading *matapiapo* and relatives of Ngamaru, the acknowledged senior chief on Atiu, as was the revenue officer and postmaster, Tetupu Ariki. The only other officials for whom federal monies were set aside were the police, comprising all men who were church communicants. Despite efforts to alter this system it seems to have persisted for at least as long as the Protectorate.

A Supreme Court of the Cook Islands was established in 1891, and modified during the following decade. The only known operation of this court in Atiu occurred in 1893, and although Moss cites this as an example of the authority of the government, the effectiveness of the action was probably due to the influence of Ngamaru.³¹

The police and chiefs also shared revenue from fines. Moss and Colonel Gudgeon, the next British Resident, both criticized this system, but a law passed by Moss limiting the number of police, providing for their payment from a federal subsidy, and appropriating all future fines and court fees to public revenue was never implemented.³²

The dominant influence throughout this period was undoubtedly Ngamaru Ariki. Born in Atiu about 1831, he had succeeded to the senior title of Ngamaru by 1870. By the late 1870s he was 'the real ruler of Atiu',³³ and his wife the most prominent chief of Rarotonga, where, because of her obligations, he lived most of the time after 1871.

Ngamaru probably wielded greater power than any chief from the pre-contact period to the present day. He led the opposition which led to the replacement of the Aitutakian pastor by an Atiuan in 1878 and insisted that all cash and other contributions, previously sent to the mission headquarters in Rarotonga or given to the local pastor, were to be paid to the chiefs. He

²⁸ N.Z.P.P. A3, 1895, p. 9.

²⁹ Moss to Governor, 17 Jan. 1891, N.Z.P.P. A3, 1891, p. 20.

³⁰ Gudgeon's address to chiefs and people of Atiu in *Te Karere*, Rarotonga, 17 June 1899.

³¹ An Atiuan chief was fined for protecting a fugitive charged with a criminal offence in Tahiti; N.Z.P.P. A3, p. 9; also Moss to Governor, 31 Aug. 1898, N.Z.P.P. A3, 1899, p. 6.

³² Gudgeon to Premier, 20 Feb. 1902, N.Z.P.P. A3, 1902, p. 53.

³³ Wyatt Gill to Directors, 28 July 1878, South Seas Letters, L.M.S.

had a further clash with the London Missionary Society in 1882 when he was granting divorces and solemnizing marriages against the mission's wishes. Thereafter the missionaries speak well of him and of his influence, and it appears that in this as in other fields he succeeded in establishing rapport with other power sources to the enhancement of his own. It was Ngamaru who erected the European-style 'grand new house' mentioned earlier, which symbolized his rising status and marked the all-time high in the relative material superiority of chiefs over others.

It is impossible to gauge the extent of his control over trade and revenue. Contemporary Atiuan opinion suggests that he governed trade and the cutting and often marketing of copra and effectively channelled income flows, and perhaps the best example of this is the purchase from Tahiti in 1895 of an 87-ton ship, renamed the *Ngamaru Ariki*. The whole island made copra for many months to pay for it. For eight years, until Ngamaru's death, it regularly traded around the Cook group, to Tahiti and the Society Islands, and the Atiuans frequently used it for holiday trips.

In this, as in his other economic manipulations, Ngamaru's success depended upon three important principles of organization. The first was the support and co-operation of the other two chiefs; the fact that during the latter part of his life they were women may have facilitated this. The second principle was that everything was done in the name of the people. The ship, for instance, was spoken of as belonging to the people of Atiu. The third factor was his personal status, as senior chief, married to the head of the Federal Government, supported by warship commanders, the mission, and commercial interests, and by a personal charisma which led people to ascribe occult powers to him, an attribute which allowed him to exploit the other principles in the later years of his life. The art of public speaking is highly respected in Atiu and Ngamaru could 'get hold of any audience he addressed and sway them as he wished'.²⁴

According to current local opinion, he made increasing demands for cash or produce which the people found oppressive. When the British Resident was appointed Makea and Ngamaru undertook to raise the money for the erection of the new Residency.²⁵ It was customary for chiefs to entertain distinguished guests with expensive feasts to which members of the tribe contributed, but the flow of distinguished guests increased greatly in the 1890s. Again he exhorted the people for more copra to pay increasing maintenance costs of the vessel, assuring them that once expenses were met a higher proportion of the income would be paid to the people. The people

²⁴ *Tē Karere*, no. 37, May 1903.

²⁵ Moss to Governor, 21 Nov. 1890. *N.Z.P.P. Ag.* 1891, p. 5.

felt that the share they received was inadequate, and that the pressure for more production was excessive, but such was their respect for and fear of their chief that they did not raise any objection. However, on the ship's first visit to Atiu after Ngamaru's death in 1903, they ran her on the reef at Orovaru landing and, amid much beating of drums and singing and dancing, burned her to a cinder.²⁶

Living in Rarotonga gave Ngamaru personal contact with influential sections of the European and Maori community there as well as immediate access to visiting dignitaries. Thus Bourke, Moss and Gudgeon accepted Ngamaru as 'the chief of Atiu, Mauke and Mitiaro', and as noted above Bourke took him on his warship when he went to proclaim the Protectorate at the outer islands. Likewise Colonel Gudgeon paid his first visit to Atiu, Mauke and Mitiaro accompanied by Ngamaru, and aboard the latter's schooner.

Thus Ngamaru was able to manipulate the situation until his assumed status became established fact, supported by government and navy. By interpreting for Bourke and the other influential people whom he accompanied, he could strengthen his position by conveying the impression which he, rather than the speaker, wished conveyed.

Ngamaru held a number of senior official posts. He was Atiu's first representative on the Central Council at Rarotonga in 1891 (he also chose the members for Mauke and Mitiaro), member of the Executive Council of Chiefs, and member of the Federal Parliament from its inception to his death. In 1898 he was appointed a Judge of the Arikis Court in Rarotonga.²⁷

His political acumen is perhaps best displayed in his dealings with Atiu's 'dependent territories' of Takutea, Mauke and Mitiaro. Takutea was uninhabited but parties of Atiuans visited the island to collect copra and seabirds. According to oral evidence, Ngamaru decided to make a copra plantation on the island for his personal profit, using Atiuan labour. But the Atiu people regarded the island as tribal land in which they had some rights. They realized that they would derive no benefit from the plantation and would probably be forbidden to collect seabirds, land crabs and other foods there, and so they passively foiled his plan. When the ship was sent for labour to work Takutea everyone was busy on other work. There was no overt disagreement, and Ngamaru himself was in Rarotonga, but both sides knew that anything short of unqualified acceptance was tantamount to rejection. The issue was

²⁶ W. N. A. Allison, personal communication. Other reasons supporting this action were said to have been the age of the vessel and increasing refit costs, fear of sale at Tahiti, New Zealand or Hawaii as nobody would know what would happen to the money, and inability to agree on who would manage the vessel and control the income.

²⁷ Moss to Governor, 9 June 1891, *enc. no. 2, N.Z.P.P. Ag.* 1891, p. 5; Gilson, 'Administration of the Cook Islands . . .', 154; *Toi Karanga*, Rarotonga, 17 Dec. 1898.

unresolved for several years until, in 1902, the Land Court (with Colonel Gudgeon as Chief Judge) awarded the island to Ngamaru who immediately handed the island to Colonel Gudgeon as Resident Commissioner on behalf of 'His Majesty King Edward, for the benefit of his subjects in this Group'.³⁸

In winning his point Ngamaru lost status as the real representative of his people, but at this stage of his life he valued the support and approval of external powers more highly. The incident is still remembered and resented today.³⁹

The kind of domination exercised by Atiu is illustrated by an incident in Mauke in 1895. Charles Framhein, a German trader who supported opposition to Atiu, was leased some land by Tararo Ariki of Mauke. With the other two chiefs Ngamaru sailed to Mauke where he reminded the leaders that they were only agents of the Atiu chiefs. The leases of land to Framhein were 'declared null and void' and Tararo Ariki was deprived of his rank by the Atiu ariki.⁴⁰ Henceforth, all leases of Mauke and Mitiaro land registered at the Registrar's Office in Rarotonga during the Protectorate period read 'approved by Atiu Ariki'.⁴¹ At the time of cession in 1900 Ngamaru made out the deed ceding the four islands to the Crown, and the unstable relationship of the mission period was ended. But for Ngamaru, it is likely that Mauke and Mitiaro would have achieved full independence from Atiu during the Protectorate.

With the Takutea case successfully behind him, Ngamaru pressed the Judge of the Land Court to 'survey the tribal boundaries of [Atiu] during his lifetime . . . for in the event of [Ngamaru's] death it would be next to impossible to ascertain the true ownership of the lands of that island'. Ngamaru died before this was done, but Gudgeon's letter suggests he would have accepted his word in the event of confused claims.⁴²

Ngamaru was an unusually competent and enterprising leader who rose to power through his marriage and his successful operations on behalf of the people, achieving new heights with the support of the Protectorate authorities, but tending in the later part of his career to align with external power sources and exploit his countrymen. Though they generally followed him out of respect and fear, many felt his passing a relief. He achieved the apex of chiefly power, but he may have left people with the feeling that this was something to avoid in the future.

³⁸ Gudgeon to Minister, 23 Dec. 1902, *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1903, pp. 20-1.

³⁹ The Land Court in 1951 decided that the island had never been Ngamaru's to give away and vested the island in 'all the people of Atiu' to be administered by an elected committee.

⁴⁰ *Te Torea*, Rarotonga, II, no. 20, 23 Nov. 1895, pp. 1, 2.

⁴¹ Seven such cases appear in a government notice of land leases; *Te Torea*, II, 22, 7 Dec. 1895, p. 3. Even after annexation by New Zealand, Mauke people feared giving evidence in land cases lest the Atiuans punish or kill them.

⁴² Gudgeon to Minister, *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1903, p. 25.

The highlights of this period appear to be the acceptance of external authority, and its attempts, as yet not very successful, to reduce and change the nature of judicial and legislative powers. The main practical effect of the support provided was to strengthen the hand of the chiefs. Chiefly powers probably waned in the religious field but increased in relation to the economy.

Atiu became a part of New Zealand in June 1901.⁴³ This was a turning point in the island's history, for annexation made Atiu a small part of a small dependency of a small nation, subordinate in political, economic and religious affairs to more powerful forces.

Provisions made by the New Zealand Government meant that New Zealand laws could be extended to the islands and New Zealand officials appointed; that New Zealand could establish a tribunal to deal with land matters; and that ordinances of Island or Federal Councils required the New Zealand Governor-General's approval. Tariffs, trade and revenue were placed under New Zealand control.

The islands' powers of legislation were reduced, and the first Resident Commissioner assumed all executive powers and control of police and other officials. The reconstituted Federal Council, composed solely of chiefs with the Resident Commissioner as adviser, could pass ordinances applying to all the islands or, with the approval of that island's representative, to a particular island; but in practice most of its functions were taken over by the Resident and it slowly languished, its last meeting being held and its last ordinance passed in 1912, and it fell completely into abeyance with the passing of the Cook Islands Act of 1915.

Most of the changes of this period were engineered by Colonel Gudgeon who took up his post as British Resident in September 1898 and, after annexation, became Resident Commissioner until July 1909. His supervision from New Zealand was slight and his powers ill-defined until 1906, when they were restricted owing to criticism in the New Zealand Parliament of his dictatorial tendencies.⁴⁴

In contrast to his predecessor, Frederick Moss, who was a sympathetic man with confidence in the local people, often expressing the view that given some guidance in the early stages and educational opportunities local autonomy would develop along healthy lines, Gudgeon had little faith in Maori institutions and soon came to despise the island's people. On his first visit to Atiu in June 1899 he publicly criticized the local government, courts, chiefs

⁴³ By New Zealand Order in Council, 13 May 1901, proclaimed at Auckland, 11 June 1901.

⁴⁴ New Zealand Order in Council, 1 June 1906. The Resident's powers of appointing staff were replaced by the right to recommend to the Minister 'fit persons for appointment'.

and officials; after mentioning that the Council had been abolished he said it had not been intended that the Councils should make laws or levy taxes, 'But that is what the Councils intended to do . . .'.⁴⁶ Yet prior to the Constitution Act of 1891 Atiu was autonomous and therefore its governing body had to make and administer laws if order was to be maintained, and it had to levy taxes in some form if public projects were to be carried out.

On his return to Rarotonga, he drafted an act which reconstituted the Councils with much reduced functions:⁴⁶ maintenance of roads; control over planting, harvesting and sale of crops; 'protection' of lands; and imposition of dog taxes and wandering stock fines. Councillors were to be elected 'in accordance with the ancient customs' and to hold office for two years. However ancient customs provided for neither elections nor two year terms and the Council continued to be a body of chiefs and their nominees.

The most interesting clause unintentionally confirmed the chiefs' key position in economic affairs, for all local income came from primary production and the chiefs, through control of the Council, now had power over planting, harvesting and marketing. But the day this act was passed the Federal Parliament passed the Statute of Atiu, Mitiaro and Mauke 1899, which provided that it would no longer be lawful to prosecute persons for certain acts, including trading with a European without permission. This negated the control over marketing, and in 1902 the setting up of a Land Court with Gudgeon as its Chief Judge set the stage for the assumption of local powers over land.

In 1899 Gudgeon required that cash fines from Atiu be sent to the Federal Treasurer at Rarotonga and not be retained by the chiefs, who, while they had contributed to public projects (for example the erection of the house for the British Resident), had also used their judicial (and economic and political) powers to acquire standards of personal consumption markedly higher than those of the common people or of pre-contact chiefs.

In the same year a High Court, once more with Gudgeon its Chief Judge, replaced the Supreme Court which had been in existence for the previous eight years.⁴⁷ The new court held exclusive jurisdiction in cases of murder and manslaughter, in criminal charges against foreigners and civil cases between Europeans and Maoris, and 'in all offences against the Federal

⁴⁶ Verbatim report in *Iol Karanga*, 17 June 1898.

⁴⁶ *A Law to provide for the Good Government of the Cook Islands* (June 1891); *An Act to amend the Constitution Act*, 22 Aug. 1899, *Iol Karanga*, 16 Sept. 1899. The administration of the law in each island was placed under the control of the Federal Government, and no law was valid unless made by the Federal Parliament and approved by the British Resident. An Empowering Act, 1899, was made for Rarotonga (*Iol Karanga*, 18 Nov. 1899) and a few months later applied to the whole Federation. At this time the councils were styled 'Au'.

⁴⁷ *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1899, p. 11.

Laws' (laws of local application were enforced by the island, or *ariki*, courts). It could also hear cases referred to it by the *ariki* courts.

Gudgeon requested Ministerial authority to deprive any chief of his rank 'in the event of his opposing any government measure'.⁴⁸ But even before receiving this authority he warned two Mauke chiefs who opposed him that the government was in the hands of the king, who must be obeyed 'if we would retain our chieftainship'.⁴⁹ Threats and bluff were frequently used to persuade the chiefs to accept unpopular proposals. On one occasion in 1898 when the chiefs refused to pass the earlier High Court Bill, Gudgeon arrived by warship, guns were fired and he landed with great pomp to tell the chiefs that their actions had offended Queen Victoria and to make amends they would have to pass the bill without delay. They did so and Makea apologized for the chiefs.

The Resident claimed that the power of the chiefs must be broken to ensure the establishment of democratic institutions. But he made no attempt to establish such institutions and his actions usurped the powers of the chiefs to himself.

Already Chief Judge of the High Court, Gudgeon sought direct control of the administration of judicial affairs at the parochial level and recommended that a European be appointed Resident Agent to Atiu to 'receive and forward complaints [to Gudgeon], and report any eccentricity on the part of Judge or Ariki'.⁵⁰ In January 1902 Adolf von Nagel was given this position, with a nominal fee of £10 per annum, and directed to act only under the instruction of Gudgeon,⁵¹ who then requested that Resident Agents should be made Justices of the Peace as 'a step towards breaking up the *ariki* courts'.⁵² The New Zealand Government agreed to make such appointments on his nomination.⁵³

The assumption that a Resident Agent would be a disinterested party without factional or pecuniary interests was not substantiated in practice. Von Nagel was a German trader who had lived on the island for some years without a lease of land, and thus presumably under the patronage of one of the chiefs. Makea complained that von Nagel identified himself with factions and 'does not confine himself to the duties of Resident Agent . . .'.⁵⁴ The direct income he obtained from the post was negligible and his acceptance

⁴⁸ Gudgeon to Mills, 10 Oct. 1904. *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1905, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Gudgeon to Tamuera and Te Au, 17 Dec. 1904. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵⁰ 'Administration of the law should be in the hands of Europeans . . .', Gudgeon to Minister, 15 Nov. 1903, *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1904, p. 37.

⁵¹ Seddon to Gudgeon, 21 Sept. 1902, *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1903, p. 45.

⁵² Gudgeon to Seddon, 4 Mar. 1902, *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1902, p. 57.

⁵³ Minister to Gudgeon, 4 Apr. 1902. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵⁴ Makea to Gudgeon, 9 Mar. 1903, *N.Z.P.P. A3*, 1903, p. 8.

of it suggests that he was either public spirited or recompensed in other ways.

Full-time paid Resident Agents were later appointed on the larger islands and Gudgeon soon became convinced that one was needed for Atiu.⁵⁵ Provision was made for *ariki* courts to be abolished as convenient and for Resident Agents to assume magisterial powers.⁵⁶ Accordingly in 1906, von Nagel was instructed to 'carry on the duties of Magistrate vice Utakea, dismissed on account of misappropriation of court funds'.⁵⁷ Four months after von Nagel's appointment, however, Gudgeon reported that the administration of the law was 'not quite what it should be'.⁵⁸

The Island Councils were continued after annexation, but poor communications, lack of experience in the type of local government proposed by Gudgeon, and dislike of laws imposed from without, reduced their effect on the outer islands and they were not in fact closely adhered to.⁵⁹ Gudgeon therefore proposed that a European Resident Agent should direct council as well as magisterial affairs subject to his control. After 31 March 1904 each Island Council was to consist of 'the Resident Agent as President, the *ariki*s of the island, and members elected by adult natives of the island for a term not exceeding three years'.⁶⁰ But this system of election was not practised on Atiu for over 40 years and the Resident Agent did not join the Atiu Council until late in 1909 when the first paid full-time officer was appointed.

With Ngamaru dead and no one of his calibre or experience to replace him, with the ship destroyed and commercial expansion from Rarotonga, the first decade of the century saw additional European traders on the island and the control of commercial affairs too was taken outside Atiu's orbit.

In taking power away from the chiefs, Gudgeon took it from the Maori population as a whole. Despite the drawbacks of the chiefly system the chiefs had obligations to, as well as rights over, their followers, and the people could to some extent exert sanctions against them. But they had no sanctions against the Resident and no access to him. Their only power lay in refusing to act.

The lack of any attempt to train islanders and give them opportunities to learn the techniques and skills required to adjust to the changing requirements of the day was probably the greatest defect of Gudgeon's administration. Breaking the power of their chiefs, he left the islands without leaders or trained staff. This state of affairs continued until well after the second world war, for the pattern Gudgeon set was followed with minor variations

⁵⁵ Gudgeon to Mills, 30 Mar. 1904. *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1904, p. 64.

⁵⁶ Gilson, 'Administration of the Cook Islands' . . . , 379.

⁵⁷ Gudgeon to Minister, 19 June 1906. *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1906, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Gudgeon to Mills, 10 Oct. 1906. *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1907, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Gudgeon to Mills, 5 Feb. 1904. *N.Z.P.P.* A3, 1904, p. 58.

⁶⁰ *Tz Karere*, no. 50, Jan. 1905.

by the New Zealand administration for the next half century: a passive but benevolent paternalism, the authoritarian government of a leaderless people.

In the course of a century Atiu's position moved from the supreme centre of a small universe to the periphery of a large one in which it was both subordinate and insignificant.

In the pre-contact situation various powers were exercised through a system of segmented rank hierarchies in which the common people participated in varying degrees. The separate hierarchies were at times co-operative, at times antagonistic. All power was contained within the island but its organization was not sufficiently developed to ensure long term stability.

Under mission influence, and despite mission efforts, stability was still not achieved. The position of the chiefs was strengthened and new activities, particularly commercial, were taken over and successfully monopolized by them. They took advantage of their pre-contact organizational roles and assumed new intermediary functions to increase their power.

The Protectorate confirmed and reinforced the status chiefs had achieved by the end of the mission period and marked the apex of their influence. Economic, judicial, legislative and administrative control was in their hands. Though the sovereignty of Great Britain was recognized, it did not interfere with local affairs. Atiu was represented in the Federal Parliament but acted on its laws only so far as it was convenient.

The early years of dependency were marked by the withdrawal of power from local institutions and its replacement by direct administration based on systems of organization and control which were foreign to the island. Power had been centralized in the chiefs; it now became centralized in the Resident Agent and his external superiors. In the mission and Protectorate periods any new activities were taken over by the chiefs, with consequent aggrandisement and tendency to become despotic. During the dependency, new activities were taken over by the Resident with similar results.

ADVICE TO THE COOK ISLANDERS

From an address to the people of Aitutaki by the Right Honourable R. J. Seddon, June 1900

An innocent people, and, taken in the right way, cared for, and properly governed, there is no reason why you should not be the happiest of Her Majesty's subjects. Like the Maoris, I am afraid that you copy our vices . . . My advice to you is, assimilate rather our virtues, and practise them. There is one thing that I desire to impress upon you: and that is, utilise the good things which God has given you in abundance. Remember the words of the celebrated Dr. Watts, of whom you have all, no doubt, read and heard: 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do'.

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NAMING IN ATIU

By R. G. CROCOMBE and VAINÉ RERE

A DECISION OF the elders of the Cook Islands' Christian Church in Atiu at the beginning of 1958 modified naming custom. This may therefore be an opportune time to record the main aspects of naming in the island before they are further obscured by lapse of time and changes in usage.

BIRTH NAMES (*Ingoa 'ānau*)

The infant's first name is usually selected a few days after birth. A couple's first child is regarded as the father's child: its father has the privilege of either selecting its name himself or nominating a close kinsman or friend to do so. The second child is the mother's child: its name is chosen by the mother or her kin. Subsequent children follow the same pattern—odds to the father, evens to the mother.

If the father himself does not name the first child or if the mother herself does not name the second, each of them will probably name one of the later children, for generally every parent wishes to name one of his or her own children. Some parents name more than one of their own, but this is unusual. It is commoner to name more than one of somebody else's children, and grandparents particularly are likely to be offered this privilege.

Mother or father may sometimes name a child out of turn for some special reason: because it is the first child of that parent's sex, for example, or because the parent wishes to commemorate some special incident concerning his or her side of the family.

When a parent asks a close relative or friend to choose the name, the request is usually made several weeks before the expected birth. Not infrequently, some close relative finds that waiting to be asked is too much of a strain and instead goes to the prospective parents and requests the privilege of naming the child. Such a request is usually granted if no prior arrangement has been made, for refusal would give offence.

Occasionally, two or three relatives make such a request or consider making it. In such cases younger claimants normally concede to older ones, and more distant kin to closer. If rival claimants cannot reach agreement, the child's father may call them together and ask them to decide among themselves not what name should be chosen, but which of them should have the right to choose it. Alternatively, the father may accept two or more names from different relatives and register them all. A parent may refuse to accept the chosen name if it should seem immodest, ludicrous, or offensive to a third party: in such cases the person who chose the unacceptable name is asked to choose another.

No ceremony attaches to the giving of a birth name and no public announcement is made before baptism, which takes place at the church about two months after birth. The name is not kept secret until baptism, for anyone calling on the parents before baptism asks the name of the child and is told. At baptism, however, the name is announced before a congregation comprising the greater part of the island's population. The parents invariably make some contribution to the pastor for this service. Contributions range from 2/- to over £5, depending on the resources of those who contribute, usually the parents, the donor of the name and some first-degree relations.

If either the child's parents or the donor of its name wish to celebrate the baptism, they may provide a feast on the Saturday before baptism, inviting not only friends and relations but also all those parents on the island who are having children baptised on the Sunday. If he can afford it, the feast's promoter may go a step further and present a gift purchased from the store to all the children baptised.

The donor of a birth name assumes certain customary obligations: to supply the child's mother with appropriate foodstuffs from parturition to about a week or ten days later; to present the child, soon after birth, with a towel, a small blanket and perhaps some flannelette, or alternatively some lesser gifts like toilet soap or powder; to send the child a token gift of the first fruits of any major crop, or a portion from any feast which the donor might sponsor; to contribute some item of food to any feast which is prepared for the child (or by it, in later life); and at other times, according to the prosperity of the donor and the warmth of relationship, to send small occasional gifts such as a shirt, a fowl or a bunch of bananas.

The donor commonly refers to the recipient as *taku tamaiti*, my child. The recipient may look to the donor for shelter or assistance in times of adversity. Though no formal reciprocity exists, unless gratitude and the special regard in which the donor is held can be considered as such, it is nevertheless expected that the recipient should perform some occasional token act or service to acknowledge and cement the relationship. For example, hearing that the person who named him required assistance to build a house or fell a tree, a lad might appropriately volunteer to help. A girl might appropriately send an odd gift of flower lei, or take some food in the event of illness, to the person who named her.

In old age people like to have their grandchildren with them, to help with minor tasks and as pleasant company. They often prefer to have their 'own child' (i.e. a grandchild whom they have named). It is not known to what extent this relationship was carried on after death in the traditional society, beyond the fact that the spirit of the deceased was expected to be beneficent to his *protégé*.

It is apparent that this relationship does not stand on its own but is part of a network of relationships between kin, neighbours and friends. The degree to which the obligations of the naming relationship are carried out appear to depend to a considerable extent on the degree to which the relationship is reinforced by other links.

NAMES ACQUIRED LATER IN LIFE

In the course of their lives Atiuans add further names to their birth names. Upon their marriage they assume new marital names (*ingoa papa*); they may also assume commemorative death names (*ingoa mate*) upon the death of kin or close friends.

At marriage the bride's parents select the new name for the groom and conversely the groom's parents select the new name for the bride. These names are not divulged until the Sunday following the wedding, when the pastor announces them at the morning service. The family of the bride customarily makes a small contribution to the pastor for announcing the new name of the groom, and his family in turn make a contribution to the pastor for announcing the bride's new name. Bride's family and groom's family generally agree on the amount they will give, so that the same sum (usually from 2/- to 5/-) will be given by each side, thus avoiding embarrassment.

After the announcement in church the new names should be used by bride and groom in addressing each other, and also by their immediate families and their close friends.

Death names are adopted shortly after a funeral. The closest relatives gather together at the home of the deceased and decide on the new names that they will take. Those customarily in attendance are parents, grandparents, spouse, siblings and children of the deceased. Occasionally some more distant relatives or friends who have been closely associated with the deceased are also present.

One of their number, ideally the most senior, asks each of the persons present what name he or she would like. If a person has already chosen a name, this is stated and written down; if not, those present suggest suitable names to choose from. Parents select new names for their children. Others present at the gathering normally signify assent to a proposed name by a nod or a brief comment. On occasions, however, the new name is considered unsuitable or inappropriate for some reason, and then the matter is discussed until agreement is reached.

Once these commemorative death names are selected and written down, the pastor announces them in church on the following Sunday. Each individual receiving a new name usually contributes a silver coin to the pastor, who announces in church the amounts contributed together with the new names of the contributors. The names may not be used until they are announced in church. As time goes on there is a tendency to revert to the previous names of the mourners and allow the death names to lapse.

When an infant is still-born or dies soon after birth, its kin do not assume death names unless the infant was an important heir or the parents felt more than usually attached to it.

Traditionally Atiuans believed that the spirits of the dead remained in the vicinity for a period and could influence the lives of the living. It may be, therefore, that death names had some supplicatory significance. For example, the name *Pati-vai* (beg for water) may have been adopted not only to remember the constant requests for water by the deceased during his last illness, but also to remind the hovering spirit that the person assuming the name had fetched water for the deceased

in his time of need. This element of supplication may not be entirely absent today.

People address those who are neither relatives nor friends by their birth names. To use a death name would be considered inappropriate; but to use a marriage name would be impertinent.

Parents address their children by their birth names, or by subsequent death names where they have been acquired. Husbands and wives address each other by marriage names, or by death names if these have been taken since marriage.

Atiuans sometimes assume new names in order to repay an insult. For example, a grandmother, hearing that her grandchild had been called by an indecent name, thereupon changed her own name to that which had been applied to her grandchild. A new name of this sort is announced in church; when that is done, great shame is cast on the person who originally used the insulting name, for everyone is aware of the circumstances. The person adopting the insulting name does so with vindictive intent, in order that the person who was responsible for the insult, publicly reminded of it, will suffer shame.

Before the last war it was customary to abandon names because they appeared to be ill-fated. These ill-fated names (*ingoa tūpāpaku*) always referred to deceased kin. If a child whose name referred to a deceased kinsman suffered persistent illness over a long period, it was assumed that the spirit of the deceased was angry and troublesome. The parents consulted the *taonga* (traditional priest) to discover whether the name might be the cause of the trouble. If the *taonga* found that the name was at fault, the child's parents would visit the grave of the deceased person to whom the name made reference, and the parent who had named the child would beg the deceased to forgive them for their transgression, to allow them to keep the name and to relieve the child of the illness. If that was not effective, the priest and the parents would choose an entirely new name and they would forbid any further use of the old name.

In addition to their other names, some people possess nicknames. Generally, a nickname is widely used after it is coined but soon fades out; a few nicknames persist throughout life. Nicknames are more common among adults than among children. They are frequently resented by their recipients.

NAMES AND THEIR REFERENTS

Birth names may refer to a deceased relative or friend of the donor—specifying either the cause of death, the kind of death, some personal attribute of the deceased, or some circumstance connected with the last illness of the deceased. They may refer to an illness, a journey or some personal attribute of the donor, or of a relative or friend of the donor. There are also names which refer to the long hair of a favoured son or grandson, whose hair is allowed to grow uncut for some years as a mark of privilege. Alternatively, the donor may confer on the recipient his own name or the name of a god, an historical personage or an ancestor.

The following are all names currently in use in Atiu, except that in these examples the phrase *o mea* (of so and so) is substituted for the proper name of a particular individual:

Maki-ata-o-Mea, the liver illness of So-and-so (who died from it).

Mate-anu-o-Mea, the cold death of So-and-so (who died by drowning).

Mata-maru-o-Mea, the gentle face of So-and-so (a deceased person).

Tukuna-au, let me pass away (the frequent request of a deceased person during his last illness).

Maki-roa, prolonged illness; *Hakimaro*, tuberculosis; *U'a-va'ai*, operated thigh.

Ngā-tamariki-tere-moana-ki-te-'enua-mamao, the lads who sailed across the sea to a distant land.

Rouru-rorua-o-Mea, the long hair of So-and-so (whose hair had not yet been cut).

Rouru-pakoti-o-Mea, the clipped hair of So-and-so (whose hair had recently been cut after years of growth).

Te-ūpoko-'ina-o-Mea, the greying locks of So-and-so (a respected aged relative).

Ata-tua-pou-rā, Ata with the sunburnt back (a name given by a woman to her son in memory of her brother who was working as an indentured labourer on the phosphate deposits at Makatea).

Tū-ta'i, the one who stands alone (referring to the donor's only son or only daughter).

Tangata-mouauri, prisoner (referring to the uncle of the child who received the name).

Tangata-topa-patikara, man who fell off a bicycle.

Te-ariki-taka-i-rangi, the chief who treads through the heavens (the god Tangaroa); *Mau-rangi*, he who holds up the heavens (the god Tū).

Mariri Ariki, proper name of the founder of Atiu (which may only be used by families with a long-standing traditional right to do so).

Aketairi, proper name of a lady of rank in the Ngātitiaka tribe, who is famed in legend; this name is perpetuated as a birth name for a daughter of rank in the Ngātitiaka tribe.

When the name of a legendary or historical hero or heroine is conferred on a child as its birth name, the child is subsequently exhorted to live up to the name. Heroic names of this sort are conferred only upon children of the same sex as the hero or heroine.

In addition to the wide range of birth names which have personal reference, some impersonal names are also in use. The birth names of children born at the time of a hurricane or a tidal wave would probably contain some reference to the event. Sometimes children receive biblical birth names, especially when the pastor has the privilege of naming a child; these names are applied only to children of the same sex as the biblical character chosen for this purpose. Some children have European birth names; but so far as we are aware all examples of European names occur in families with some non-Polynesian blood, and generally in those wherein a parent has lived at some time outside Island Polynesia. In

these cases the child given the name must be of the sex to which Europeans customarily restrict use of that name.

Death names invariably make reference to the deceased. They are chosen on the same criteria as those birth names that refer to a deceased, with the exception that the name of the deceased is never used by itself as a death name, though it may be used in conjunction with a reference to some attribute of the deceased. Death names often refer to services performed by the recipient for the deceased, but some traditional death names are now excluded because they are considered to be immodest; thus names like *Kapu-mimi* (urine container), a name adopted by the person who had regularly emptied the container for the deceased during the last illness, are falling into disfavour while names like *Mata-puroto-o-Mea* (the beautiful face of so and so) and *Ngā-rima-anu-o-Mea* (the cold hands of so and so) are favoured.

Nicknames refer to some attribute of the recipient, or to a deed or incident in which he or she participated.

CHANGES IN NAMING CUSTOM

Social changes in recent decades have raised the status of the birth name at the expense of other names. The birth name was recorded in church registers before 1917, when the government instituted registration of births; since then the birth name has become the officially recorded name.

Since the establishment of a school in 1923, teachers have been confused by having to know the same individual students by their enrolment names, which are supposed to tally with the Birth Registers, as well as by subsequent additional names. The government citrus scheme involves long term financial assistance to Atiuans. The accounting machinery of the scheme makes it essential that an individual should retain the same name throughout his connection with the scheme. The authorities prefer the birth name, as this is standardized with the Birth Register and with Land Titles. Over 50 Atiuans are employed on the island by the government as teachers, police, clerks, medical staff, extension officers, divers and the like. These people are usually signed on under a name that contains the first word of the birth name plus the first word of the father's name, and they continue to be known by that name for official purposes, signing it, for example, on their pay-sheets. A large percentage of adults have savings bank accounts; letters are received from relatives and friends in other islands who are not aware of recent changes of name; the radio telegraph service is widely used. All these things tend to establish the need for a naming system which ensures long-term identity, and the birth-name is generally favoured in these circumstances.

Increased travel is also sabotaging traditional naming custom. Absent relatives seldom bother to change their names on the death of someone back home. Marriage partners are not infrequently brought from other islands where the same customs may not be observed. Furthermore, aware that such customs as that of assuming a death name are not practised by Europeans and are but little practised in

Rarotonga, Atiuans are losing confidence in the desirability of traditional naming customs.

In recent times a desire for change has manifested itself in the deliberations of the Cook Islands Christian church, of which 78 per cent of Atiu's population are members, including the three chiefs of the island, all the Island Councillors, many officers in charge of mail government services and many planters.

For some years the issue was raised informally in church discussion, and at elders' meetings, without result. In these discussions the main advocates of change were a group of young leaders all of whom had travelled outside the Cook Islands and all of whom had much higher education than the average. The main opponents were old men without formal education and with less experience outside their home island.

The advocates of change eventually introduced the following proposals, which were adopted at a church elders' meeting in January, 1958.¹

1. That death names should no longer be announced in the church, which should recommend to its adherents that this custom be discontinued.
2. That vindictive names should no longer be countenanced by the church.
3. That marriage names should be retained.
4. That children should not be given unsuitable names, i.e. names considered to be immodest, or to be disparaging to someone.

The reasons advanced in support of the proposals adopted in 1958 were: firstly, that the birth name was also the baptismal name and that a name given in baptism should not be changed; secondly, that the assumption of death names was an outmoded custom derided by people outside the island; thirdly, that too many names led to confusion in travel and in dealings with government and other agencies; fourthly, that grief over the loss of a relative was unduly accentuated by the taking of a new name referring to the deceased.

Marriage names were considered to be a good custom as they set up no conflict and were mainly used as terms of personal address within the family group. This decision was in line with a policy which the church elders have advocated for some time: the retention and strengthening of those traditional customs which are satisfying and serve a useful purpose and the rejection of those which do not.

Since the decision of the church elders, these recommendations have been generally accepted in the villages. Some people expressed relief; others the view that simplified naming customs were better suited to current conditions. Some of the older people expressed considerable regret that the old custom was rejected; they felt that the younger generation showed too little regard for custom and that the dropping of death names signified a lack of respect for the dead.

¹ The church had previously objected to changes of name due to misfortune, and this was doubtless one of the factors leading to the disappearance of that custom.

CONCLUSIONS

We have neither sufficient data nor the technical competence to provide a detailed analysis of Atiuian naming custom. Yet in closing we may offer some tentative suggestions about the function of traditional naming customs. Firstly, the highlights of life—births, marriages and deaths were marked by the assumption of new names. Secondly, birth names served to date historical events. We often hear in conversation the question "When did such-and-such happen?", to which the answer may be given "Shortly before so and so was born, for his name makes reference to the event." Thirdly, and more importantly, naming on Atiu traditionally offered a technique for establishing special relationships with specific members of the kindred, with spouses and their kin, with illustrious ancestors, with persons of rank, and with the recently deceased. It is therefore to be expected that changes in naming custom may reflect changes in the pattern of significant social relationships.

Naming by friends or distinguished visitors is increasing in relation to naming by kin. This is paralleled by a reduction in the relative importance of the kinship system for social, economic and political ends. The person to whom the parent goes with the request to name his child is one with whom for some reason the parent wishes to establish or reinforce a link. Usually the person asked is of higher status than the person asking. Thus nowadays we find that the pastor, the doctor, the trader and others are called on quite frequently, indicating a re-structuring of the status hierarchy in terms of new values and skills, religious, technical and commercial.

Marriage names survive because they serve as a symbol of the marriage relationship and a link between the respective families in a society where the marriage relationship tends to be precarious and can ill afford to lose even a symbolic reaffirmation.

Death names have been abandoned because the dead are no longer thought to influence the lives of the living. Traditionally the adoption of names which made reference to the deceased was a part of the ritual propitiation of the dead. While vague beliefs about the wordly power of the dead still persist, over a century of Christianity has caused them to be greatly modified in intensity. It is therefore not surprising that the custom of assuming death names has been abandoned. Moreover, the persons who initiated the change were those who least felt themselves affected by the post-mortem activities of their relatives: those who had wide experience of the modern world in terms of travel and formal education.

MAN IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

*Essays on Geographical Change in the
Pacific Islands*

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ATIU ISLAND—A MICROSTUDY¹

Atiu, although the third largest island in the Cook Group, is only ten square miles in area and has a population of about 1,500 people. The changes, and pressures towards change, that have taken place in land tenure in Atiu illustrate in microcosm many of the changes which have taken place throughout the Pacific in the past 200 years.

The island is roughly circular, and from the fringing reef rise cliffs of upraised coral which form the edge of a rocky plateau about half a mile wide. On the inner edge of the plateau is a depression which contains the island's most fertile land, some of which is permanent swamp and ideal for taro cultivation. Inland the ground rises to a system of eroded, flat-topped ridges which radiate out from the centre of the island.

At the time of first European contact the island was divided into seven wedge-shaped districts, whose boundaries ran from a high point in the centre of the island to the outer edge of the fringing reef (Fig. 9.1). Each of three of the districts was headed by one of the island's three *ariki* or high chiefs, and the other four by senior chiefs called *mataiapo*. In pre-contact times the people lived on the lower slopes just inland of their taro gardens, their house-sites being levelled by digging into the hillsides and using the soil to extend the site forward.

Tengatangi, one of the seven districts of the island, demonstrates common features of the land tenure system. As shown in Fig. 9.2, it was divided into four subdistricts which ideally ran from the central hills to the coast, although one in Tengatangi did not. The three smaller subdistricts were headed by *mataiapo* and the largest by the *ariki* (high chief) of the district. Within each sub-district were separate hamlets each headed by a lesser chief (*rangatira*). The *ariki*'s subdistrict was central. It contained most swamp for taro cultivation and most gardening land. Informants' claims that it was the most populous sub-district are supported by the fact that it has more extensive and more numerous house platforms.² The large *marae*, which was

¹ Most of the field work on which this study is partly based was carried out in the 1950s.

² If we accept the rough estimate of 2,000 people for the whole island given by Captain Cook in 1777 (Cook, 1821, 5: 264) and again by Williams (1837: 18) in 1823, there would have been an average of a little under 300 persons in each district, about 80 per subdistrict, and 20 to 30 in each hamlet.

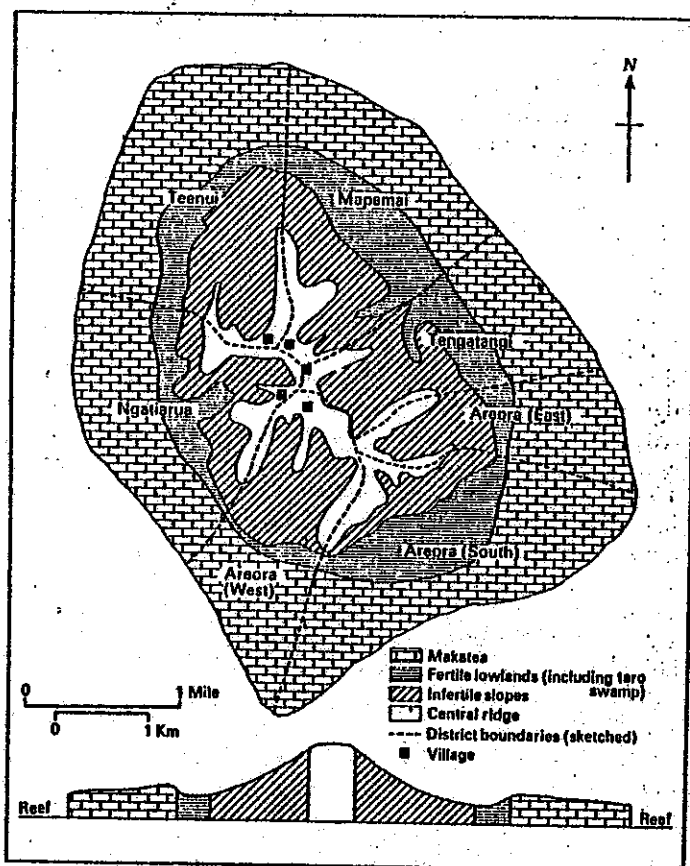


FIG. 9.1. Atiu Island. District lands and soil types. District boundaries are sketched. Soils after Grange and Fox, 1953.

the religious centre of the district, is still visible today near the high chief's former house-site.

Highly valued land was further subdivided amongst much smaller groups for exploitation. This is demonstrated by Fig. 9.3 which shows lot sizes as at 1952. The high central ridges were of little use in pre-contact times and were little divided, but since their use as villages they have been intensively

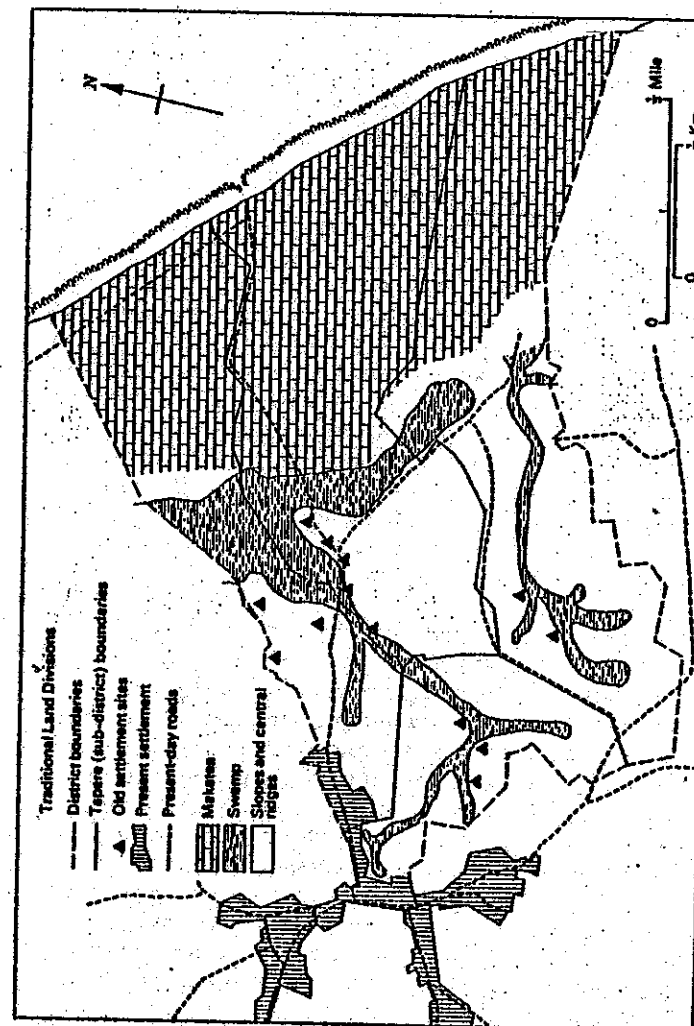


FIG. 9.2. District of Tenuatangi. Traditional land divisions with traditional and modern patterns of settlement. District and subdistrict boundaries are sketched. Source: field data.

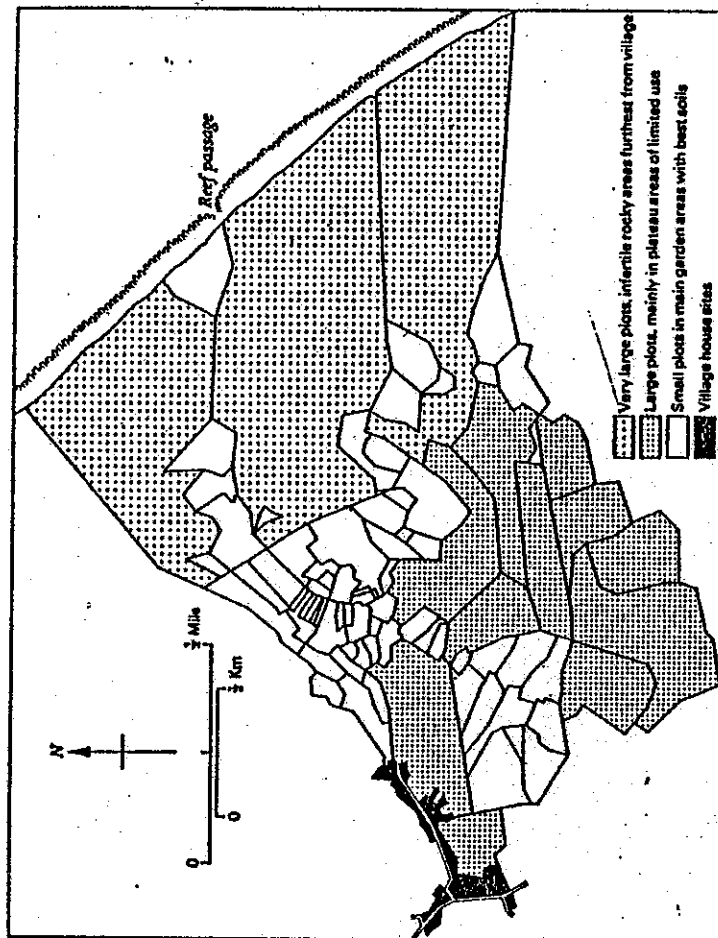


FIG. 9-3. Size of land plots in Tenguangi District, 1952. Boundaries are sketched. Source: field data.

subdivided. Conversely, the former residential area near the gardens was presumably more closely subdivided when the hamlets were located there. On the rocky coastal plateau large groups of relatives used large tracts in common. Particular portions were in some cases cut out for use by particular families, but in general the whole of each subdistrict held its coastal plateau land in common. This is still the case today.

Scarce resources facilitate the emergence of increased power for those who control rights to them. The one reef passage in the district was spoken of in the name of the high chief, and though all men of the district could use it he was given a small part of each catch as tribute. There was also a special swamp spring containing a chemical which improved the strength and keeping qualities of fibres which were soaked in it. The spring was more than adequate for the needs of the whole island and all had access to it. No direct reciprocity was made to the landowning group for its use.

Atiuans say that from pre-contact times until relatively recent years all land on the island was associated with one rank title or another. With the exception of conquest, each lineage was autonomous in so far as the internal allocation of its lands was concerned. The only available substantiation comes from Land Court records which show that most of the lands were awarded to their respective claimants without dispute, and despite an interval of 180 years between first European contact and the Court sitting, there is a discernible correlation between original lineage affiliation and the subdistrict in which the lands were claimed. This correlation is far from exact, for in recent years the Court has granted inheritance from both parents instead of one, and marriage gifts, adoptions, and other particular arrangements have tended to blur the outlines. The general pattern is nevertheless clear.

With the exception of conquest, adoption, or asylum given to refugees, all land rights were acquired through either one's mother or one's father. Inheritance was normally from the parent in whose family and lineage one resided, rights to the land of the other parent lapsing unless that parent had been the sole heir to the lands concerned. One did not necessarily acquire rights to use all the lands of the parent from whom inheritance was claimed and, particularly with large families,

planting lands were apportioned to various sections of the family.

By custom one did not acquire rights through women except in the event of uxori-local marriage, illegitimacy, lack of male heirs, or when other abnormal circumstances arose. Such atypical situations arose in just over one-fifth of the cases studied. All claims to land in the district were traceable to a single male ancestor, with one exception. In this exceptional case, the source of the land was a female some three generations back from the claimants. She was quite possibly the sole issue of an earlier male ancestor but my information on the point is incomplete.

Informants' statements and evidence given to the Court show that the retention of land rights under custom required acts of use. There was no fixed period of non-use before rights were considered to be completely extinguished, the actual time for any particular case being determined by the exercise of rights by other rightholders, the need for land, and the status of the parties concerned.

Within the lineage group, the rights of component families and individuals were determined by discussion in the light of needs and of accepted principles and priorities. The final decision, or confirmation of agreement, was a matter for the lineage head. Meetings were held when a dying titleholder wished to settle the distribution of lands before his death, at an adoption, or when lands were to be given in marriage or to a refugee.

Post-contact Changes

Throughout the Pacific, European contact frequently resulted in change in settlement patterns, most commonly a gathering of scattered hamlets into relatively large villages, and often a shift towards the coast. In Atiu the former trend operated but not the latter. The first outsiders known to have landed on Atiu after Cook were Tahitian missionaries who arrived in 1823 and set about bringing the people together from their scattered hamlets to a single centre where they could be given religious instruction away from the environment of their heathen religious practices. All districts meet on the central ridge and each

district built its new village on its own lands on one of the ridges radiating out from the central point where the church was built. The three southern districts combined to form a single village. A coastal site would have created difficulties: if a single village were formed people would have had to live on the lands of another district; if separate villages were formed, the influence of the evangelists would have been reduced. The people of each subdistrict initially occupied a particular section within the new village. The previous owners of the land on which the village was built agreed that each family be given a house site for itself and its issue for so long as they cared to remain, but that in the event of their dying out or moving away the land would revert to its original owners. No payment or compensation was made.

The new inland village was without water and was located on infertile land. The people therefore retained their houses on the planting lands. The practice then began of having one house in the village and another (a smaller simpler structure) near the gardens. This practice remains today and is widespread in the Pacific where government or mission pressures have necessitated living far from gardening lands.

With the arrival of the missionaries, acquisition of land by conquest ceased. Polygamy was stopped, and those with more than one wife were required to set the others aside. They returned, with their issue, to their natal lineages and acquired land rights there. These, too, were widespread trends in Polynesia.

In pre-contact times every family grew crops only for its own consumption or for distribution on social and ceremonial occasions. But in the first half of the nineteenth century some of the many whaling, trading, and mission ships which began to frequent the South Pacific also called at Atiu to trade. Fresh foods for the ships' stores, and arrowroot and coconut oil for resale elsewhere, were the first commodities exploited commercially. Coffee, vanilla, cotton, and oranges were later introduced and planted for export. The high chiefs established a market house to regularize trade with ships, and controlled it themselves until towards the end of the century. The chiefs at times instructed their people to plant particular crops, and monopolized their sale, but production was by small groups

on family holdings. The tree crops were planted in very small quantities and not in regular rows. All of them seeded and spread. Atiu custom permitted the inheritance of economic trees and movable property to individual cognatic kin (i.e. in practice those descended from females of the owning groups, but living elsewhere). Even more widely spread were rights to take an occasional harvest of chestnuts (*mape*) and other products on occasions when ceremonies necessitated additional supplies.

There was no clear precedent for the exploitation of fruits grown for sale, and the traditional practices could be rationalized as justifying any of several approaches. No new rule seems to have been applied, and disputes over the use of cash-crop trees became a perennial problem. Atiu was no exception in this regard. All the peoples of the Pacific had to adjust their tenure systems to new economic and political circumstances. Few changes were to everyone's advantage and widespread conflict occurred in the application of old rules to new situations.

European traders, usually only two or three of them at any one time, resided on Atiu from the 1840s onwards. Every one for whom details are available lived under the protection of one or other of the three high chiefs, and was supplied with land, and usually a wife, by the patron chief. As in much of the Pacific, the missionaries who visited Atiu regularly warned the chiefs against selling land to foreigners. Europeans were few and as the chiefs allowed them to use such tribal land as they needed for their subsistence, no land sales took place in Atiu. It was protected by its lack of resources and its forbidding reef, for in islands where there were natural harbours and abundant resources, foreign interests almost invariably acquired control over significant areas of land. In Atiu the only lands alienated were small areas given to the missions for churches and residences.

As in most of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Fiji, chiefly power over land increased after European contact until one or other of the colonial powers took the islands over. Thereafter chiefly powers over land waned rapidly except in colonies of the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, Germany. The fact of the people being brought together in one settlement from their

formerly scattered hamlets was conducive to an increase in the power of the high chiefs. This was accentuated by the high chief's role as mediator between the people on the one hand, and traders, missionaries, and warships on the other. They also represented the island on the Federal Council of the Cook Islands after its formation in 1892. The most outstanding chief, Ngamaru Ariki, bought a ship and promoted export production on a large scale, employing his tribal followers as labour.

The latter part of the nineteenth century is still referred to by the Atiuan as the time of the *mana ariki*—or power of the high chiefs. During this period, they say, the high chiefs were little influenced by their subordinates in the rank hierarchy, and freely deposed title-holders who did not obey their orders. They claim that the high chiefs usurped 'all power' over the lands, and Land Court evidence does indicate that some arbitrary allocations were in fact made. By the turn of the century, at least one title in each of the subdistricts of Tenganangi was held by a member of the high chief's extended family. When the senior branch of the family died out in 1911, there was considerable dispute as to who should take the title. One factor which helped the successful contender was his promise that he would 'give back the people's lands'. Informants said that this 'giving back' referred to the fact that during the previous generation the high chiefs had assumed control over all unoccupied lands, and had also assumed considerable authority over occupied lands. These powers, they said, were to be relaxed, and the lineages were again to resume control of their respective lands. While the power of the high chiefs did increase during the nineteenth century in respect to lands in their districts, even in pre-contact times he had rights to demand produce for district ceremonies and to prohibit the use of land or crops for certain periods in order to reserve supplies of food. Very probably he also had considerable influence in the selection of lesser chiefs.

The Colonial Period

New Zealand annexed the Cook Islands in 1901 and set up a Land Court, to facilitate increased production and to prepare

the way for European settlers. The legislation forbade wills, gifts, sales, and other means of transfer among islanders which had constituted a means of adjustment of land rights to meet changing needs. Sale to the government was provided for. Though it was intended that title to all lands on the island be investigated, the Court was fully occupied on other islands until 1909 when the Resident Commissioner who established it retired. By that time it was apparent that European settlement was not going to eventuate, and it was not until 1952 that the bulk of the lands were investigated and titles issued.

In conjunction with the Court investigation in 1952, all lands in the district were surveyed, boundaries were fixed, and accurate plans were drawn. The Court was required by the legislation to determine ownership in accordance with 'ancient native custom', an almost impossible requirement when the context in which the customs operated was so altered by the introduction of commerce, the abolition of warfare, and other radical changes. Moreover, the Court had no research data on which to base its assumptions about customary practice, and could rely only on the statements of witnesses about customary principles—a very different thing.

The Court used three different principles in dealing with the three major categories of land. As there were no villages before the advent of the Europeans, the Court worked on the assumption that no ancient custom existed in relation to village lands, and generally awarded only to those persons actually resident on the particular section, irrespective of the origin or nature of their right. The descendants of the pre-contact owners of the village lands voluntarily waived their claims to either title or compensation. Taro gardens are generally very small and often intensively cultivated. Rights by blood had to be reinforced by recent usage before the Court would make an award. In all other lands the Court recognized the claims of a much wider range of people, often irrespective of use in the last two generations or more, provided a blood right could be traced to the recognized owning ancestor. Other factors were recognized in special cases.

Though the political and judicial powers of the high chiefs were considerably reduced after annexation, and their powers over land were challenged by the existence of a Court which

(in the early years at least) publicly announced that chiefly powers over land were to be nullified, it was not until the Court sitting of 1952 that these powers in fact became void. Nevertheless, chiefs of the *ariki* family acquired rights in more land, and in more districts, than did commoners. The average commoner in 1959 had rights in 2.96 plots of land in his own subdistrict, 2.76 plots in the other three subdistricts in the district, and 4.8 plots in all other districts on the island. The average of the four titleholders of the *ariki* family was 5.25 plots in his own subdistrict, 11.25 plots in the other three subdistricts of the district, and 12.75 plots in all other districts on the island.¹

The most common indigenous form of inheritance was by descent from the parent in whose lineage one resided, and only in exceptional cases did rights pass through females. But the Court included females equally with males in determining original title and, in determining succession to deceased owners, granted title to all descendants of the previous rightholder. This was not in accordance with custom, as it precluded allocations by family agreement as well as the hiving off of females who married out, of absentees, and of adoptees. As a result the number of rightholders now increases each generation in geometric progression.²

In Atiu the average section of planting land is six acres in area, and following the Court investigations an average of eighty persons held rights in it. Most of the rights acquired in other subdistricts and other districts were acquired by the operation of the Court, which generally gave equal rights to all descendants of the individual named as the 'source' (whether in the male or female line and whether living on the island or not).

The Court was given mutually incompatible tasks—it was supposed to adhere to custom, but the legislation permitted it to grant only one class of right—a freehold order.³ Under Atiu

¹ Chiefs other than those of the *ariki* family had very little more land than commoners. This illustrates the relative decline in power of the lesser chiefs.

² While the Land Court previously recognized some selective criteria in granting succession, it has for the past decade been forced by a decision of the Appellate Court to ignore such criteria. Wills and gifts (which were provided for by custom) were precluded by law.

³ The term freehold order as used by the legislation has a very different connotation from freehold in its accepted English sense, for among other things an islander with a 'freehold' title cannot sell, will, or otherwise dispose of land.

custom there were many different categories of rights depending on the nature of their origin—whether through males or females; whether varied in accordance with the nature of the right conferred; whether it was a right to plant or merely to collect wild fruits; whether a right to use or merely to participate in decisions about land; whether a right to inherit or to receive tribute from the land in question. The Court was required to determine whether or not a person had a right and if so to award that person a freehold interest. This necessitated the Court's making a value judgement to decide, among the many individuals who had rights of one form or another, which of them it would recognize. Those whose rights were recognized had them standardized by the Court into 'freehold' rights, irrespective of their nature under custom. This standardization was not without advantage, for a considerable amount of dispute had previously existed owing to the multiplicity of rights held in any portion of land.

There was no provision for awarding to lineages or other groups, though there was provision for awarding to chiefs such lands as belong to them by virtue of their office. This latter provision was applied only to the *marae* or sacred ground, and other very small areas.

An error of the Court which was not imposed on it by the legislation was its practice of awarding to persons irrespective of their lineage affiliation. Under custom, land belonged to a defined social group, with a defined leadership system, though the membership of the group was subject to variation. The Court practice has resulted in each piece of land being tied to an ever-increasing number of individuals who are not organized under any system of leadership, and without any provision for transfer or adjustment to suit particular needs. Under custom, land rights were held by members of a single social group.

Informants say that it was 'proper', in former times, for commoners to marry within their own districts, but that this custom has long since ceased to apply. It was only the holders of titles, they claim, who ideally took wives from other districts. Most men now marry women from districts other than their own. Of the thirty-five marriages in Tenganangi at the time of this study, in twenty-six cases one spouse was from another district or another island, and in the other nine cases both

husband and wife were from Tenganangi.¹ If, under native custom, land rights were inherited equally from both parents, then the rights of most individuals would be spread fairly evenly throughout the island, but this is not so.

As with land ownership, so with land use, the titled families (particularly those belonging to the *ariki* family) tend to spread over a wider range of both subdistricts and districts. Of the twenty-five commoner households in Tenganangi,² twenty-one grew all their subsistence crops within one subdistrict; the other four used land in two. In the matter of cash crops, nineteen of the twenty-five commoner families grew all their cash crops within one subdistrict; the remaining six used two. A household, therefore, does not necessarily grow all its subsistence and cash crops within the same subdistrict, and taking all crops into account, sixteen of the twenty-five households used land in only one subdistrict while six used land in two, and three used land in three.

Of the fifteen chiefly households, nine grew all subsistence crops in one subdistrict, five in two, and one in three. Six grew all their cash crops in one subdistrict, six in two, two in three, and one in four. Taking all crops into consideration, only four of the fifteen chiefly households planted in one subdistrict, four used two, four used three, two used four, and one used five.

The defining of boundaries by the Land Court did away with one major cause of dispute, and has contributed to security of tenure. The determining of owners, in those cases where there was dispute, has likewise made for stability. But the system of awarding equally to members of a number of lineages, knowing that the number of owners and the number of lineages to which they adhere is increasing constantly, has introduced an element of rigidity which offsets the advantages of the Court system. For a person must first obtain the consent of a multitude of co-owners before making use of the land.

In so far as effects on production are concerned, the *per capita*

¹ Of these nine, five had partners from different subdistricts within the district, three were from the same subdistricts but from different minor lineages within it, and one was a marriage between parallel cousins (within the same lineage).

² Five atypical households were omitted from this analysis—they were those of the L.M.S. pastor, the Catholic caretaker, an employee of the high chief, the policeman, and a woman (with issue but no husband) who lived outside the village and did not plant.

output of export crops has shown no increase since the court awards were made. In fact the highest *per capita* exports were obtained during the period of chiefly power, when the significant factor appeared to be the existence of a functional system of leadership.

Some years ago the New Zealand Government introduced a scheme for the extension of citrus orchards, whereby long-term financial and technical help was made available. At the same time legislation was introduced requiring that this would be available only to individuals and that the one acre of land on which each orchard was to be established would have to be vested by the owning group in the particular individual concerned before assistance would be granted. This system, known as the 'occupation right' system because it gives exclusive rights of occupation to one member of the rightholding group, could be broadened to facilitate reduction of the number of owners of all lands on the island.

Self-government

The Cook Islands became internally self-governing in 1965. The next phase in Atiu's land tenure system cannot be predicted, though some current tendencies may be indicative. To some extent the people have resumed their system of informal allocation within the rightholding group, but with markedly less unanimity than before, as the right of the titleholder under law is of the same order as that of all other rightholders, an increasing number of whom no longer belong to his lineage. Moreover, informal partition has no legal validity and the Court seldom permits legal partition.

In so far as the allocation of land among co-owners is concerned, the chiefly powers which were annulled by the Land Court have not been replaced by any alternative system. With such large landholding groups, some system of leadership or organization appears essential. Organization of production has been partially replaced by powers held by the Island Council and Village Committees under which they periodically order the planting of specified minimum quantities of subsistence crops.¹ In recent years it has also been replaced to some extent

¹ The Cook Islands Review of Jan. 1967 noted that the Atiu Village Committees

by planting agreements of the co-operative movement whereby each member is obliged to plant a stated amount of a particular crop—usually a cash crop. In work organization, there is a marked increase in the use of tractors and other mechanical equipment, and in the hiring of labour for cash. The co-operative has begun some experiments in the exchange of labour among members.

Owing to the large numbers of rightholders, almost half of whom have migrated to Rarotonga, New Zealand, and elsewhere, it is virtually impossible to negotiate a lease, which is the only legally recognized form of transfer of land rights. This leads to informal arrangements about the use of land for cash cropping which are not only short-term and insecure, but also conducive to exhaustive techniques of land use. Some efficient system of transfer of rights is essential as the rigidity of the Court system of succession has led to a situation where some very small families own large tracts of land which they cannot use, whereas some large families are hampered by an excess of rightholders on relatively small plots of land. The large number of rightholders has not infrequently led to the most forceful members of the family acquiring control of all the family lands while the others migrate to Rarotonga and elsewhere.

In 1960 only three families on the whole island lived permanently on their planting lands, away from the village. All were special cases, but they could be the forerunners of a trend to reside again on the planting lands, as has already developed on some of the neighbouring islands. This trend seemed to be at least partly due to multiple ownership, wherein actual possession is the only effective way to exclude a multitude of co-owners.

In the pre-contact era, the major stress in the system was probably instability of ownership due to a lack of a centralized authority to safeguard rights over the whole island. The mission era introduced such a centralized authority and concomitant stability, though at the cost of greatly reducing the rights of the commoner in relation to those of the high chief. The Land Court adjusted this relationship to the extent of leaving the owning groups without effective leadership and created a

had just ordered each able-bodied man to plant one taro patch, 100 sweet potato plants, 10 bananas, and 50 each of yams, arrowroot, and dry-land taro.

situation wherein a multitude of owners each holds a plethora of fragmented rights in a number of portions of land.

Changes in the tenure system itself have been made in response to pressures of external origin, but changes in the distribution of lands within the system have taken place in accordance with the power and influence of the particular component groups and individuals. The current external pressure on Atiu's land system is the recently established, autonomous Cook Islands Government. What modifications it will introduce are yet to be seen.

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